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# Vietnam Report

No. 2380

Materials on the Fifth Congress of  
the Vietnam Communist Party--Volume 1

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23 July 1982

# VIETNAM REPORT

No. 2380

## MATERIALS ON THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY--VOLUME 1

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#### INTRODUCTORY NOTES

This report contains translations of selected materials on the Fifth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party held in Hanoi 27-30 March 1982. This material was previously reported in various issues of the FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT between 27 March and 6 May 1982

Other material dealing with the Fifth Congress has been published in the following supplement to the FBIS DAILY REPORT and in the JPRS series TRANSLATIONS ON VIETNAM:

1. Text of Central Committee Report to the Fifth VCP Congress 27 March 1982 (FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT Vol IV, No 069, Supplement 002, 9 April 1982)
2. Other SRV Leader Speeches at the Fifth Congress of the VCP, Vol II (JPRS 81347 , VIETNAM REPORT, No. 2381, 23 Jul 82)

## FIFTH VCP NATIONAL CONGRESS OPENS 27 MAR

### Opening Session

BK270148 [Editorial Report] Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 0130 GMT on 27 March began live coverage on the Fifth VCP Congress at Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi. The announcer said the congress would be officially opened at 0900 [0200 GMT] with 1,033 delegates in attendance.

The announcer gave the names of the members of the congress Presidium as they proceeded to the podium. They were, in the order of announcement, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, Tran Quoc Hoan, Van Tien Dung, Le Van Luong, Nguyen Van Linh, Vo Chi Cong, Chu Huy Man, To Huu, Vo Van Kiet, Do Muoi, Hoang Quoc Viet, Nguyen Duc Thuan, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Dang Quoc Bao, Le Duc Anh, Vu Dinh Lieu, Ho Nghinh, Y Mot, Vuong Duong Tuong, Pham Bai, Hoang No, Nguyen Dinh Cam, Nguyen Chon and Tran Dai Nghia.

The announcer said that also participating in the presidium were the heads of the CPSU, the LPRP and the KPRP delegations and the heads of other international delegations, Truong Chinh began his opening speech. Truong Chinh concluded his speech by voicing confidence in the history of the VCP and declared the congress open at 0238 GMT.

At 0240 GMT Le Duan began to speak. Le Duan concluded his speech at 0332 GMT. Following prolonged applause, an unidentified number of the congress proposed that the congress recess until the afternoon session. Hanoi Domestic Service at 0337 GMT concluded its live coverage of the opening session of the Fifth VCP Congress.

### Afternoon Session

OW271746 Hanoi VNA in English 1736 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 27--The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam this afternoon heard an economic report and a report on party organization prepared by the Central Committee.

The economic report, delivered by Pham Van Dong, Politbureau member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, outlines the general situation and reviews the execution of state plans from 1976 to 1980 and sets the course to take and

the tasks to be done to achieve the main economic and social objectives for 1981-85 and till the end of the decade. Pham Van Dong stressed that working people in Vietnam were motivated by a revolutionary spirit, that they were courageous, intelligent, and creative.

The second report was presented by Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member. It reviews organizational work since the last congress and proposes measures to bring about new changes in the leadership and militancy of the party to make it equal to its tasks in the new situation. The report points out that all success made since the fourth congress had been partly owed to the growth of the party. It urges the entire party to make greater efforts so as to "prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people," as wished by President Ho Chi Minh as his last testament.

#### Municipal Delegates' Speeches

BK280440 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0400 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] The Fifth VCP Congress continued its work this morning, 28 March, Voice of Vietnam correspondents reported from the Ba Dinh Conference Hall. During this morning's session the delegates heard statements by Comrade Le Van Luong, secretary of the Hanoi municipal party committee and delegates of the Hanoi municipal VCP organization, and Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City party committee and delegate of the Ho Chi Minh City VCP organization.

Both statements affirmed the complete identity of views with the political report presented by Comrade Le Duan; the report on the main orientations, tasks and targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 period and for the 1980's, read by Comrade Pham Van Dong; and the report on the party-building task delivered by Comrade Le Duc Tho. The statements also affirmed the resolve of the two major cities' party organizations to satisfactorily carry out the political tasks set forth by the fifth party congress.

During this morning's session the delegates were also extremely inspired to hear statements by Comrades Gorbachev, head of the CPSU delegation; Kaysone Phomvihan, head of the LPRP delegation; and Heng Samrin, head of the LPRP delegation.

In their statements, the Soviet, Lao and Kampuchean head delegates affirmed great solidarity and militant friendship with the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause. They stressed that the lofty solidarity, singlemindedness and internationalist friendship among the fraternal parties are an important factor ensuring world peace and security and the complete victory of socialism. The Soviet, Lao and Kampuchean head delegates' statements were warmly welcomed by the delegates and punctuated by hearty applause.

## Delegates' Speeches on 28 Mar

OW281635 Hanoi VNA in English 1625 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--During its meetings this morning and afternoon, the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam heard addresses by the head delegates of nine foreign delegations and many speeches of Vietnamese delegates. At the meeting this morning, the congress warmly hailed the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, head delegate of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Kaysone Phomvihane, head delegate of the [Lao] People's Revolutionary Party; and Heng Samrin, head delegate of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

In his speech of welcome this afternoon, Jesus Montane Oropesa, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba; Miroslaw Milewski, head of the delegation of the United Workers' Party of Poland; Paul Laurent, head of the delegation of the French Communist Party; (Samih Abu Kuwayq, head of the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.); Salvador Cayetano Carpio, head of the delegation of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador (F.M.L.); Stanley Mabizela, head of the delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa. [sentence as received]

The foreign delegates expressed their deep and warm feelings toward the Communist Party and people of Vietnam. They affirmed their militant solidarity, support and comprehensive cooperation with the Vietnamese people in their national construction and defence.

Vietnamese speakers included the delegates of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the People's Army and the Ministry of Interior. General Van Tien Dung, head of the Vietnam People's Army delegation and Pham Hung, minister of interior, voiced the will of the People's Army and Security Forces to unceasingly heighten their vigilance, to defeat the war of sabotage conducted by the Chinese expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to ensure political security and social order and defend the people's peaceful construction. Also this afternoon, Hoang Quoc Viet, president of the Vietnam Fatherland Front Central Committee, spoke of the need to intensify mass mobilization and front work in the present situation.

Vuong Duong Tuong, secretary of the party organization in Cao Bang Province bordering China, voiced the determination of the border people to fulfill the task of defending the motherland and successfully building socialism.

## 29 Mar Congress Proceedings

OW291351 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] The Fifth VCP Congress continued to hold its plenary session today in the Ba Dinh Conference Hall.

During the morning session the delegates listened to speeches by the following comrades: Hoang Van Kieu, director of the Central Committee Department of Nationalities and delegate of the Lang Son provincial party organization;

Le Phuoc Tho, deputy secretary of the Hau Giang provincial party committee and delegate of the Hau Giang provincial party organization; Ngo Quang Dao, deputy secretary of the Hai Hung provincial party committee and delegate of the Hai Hung provincial party organization; Nguyen Thi Ngoc Lien, deputy secretary of the Thong Nhut district party committee and delegate of the Dong Nai provincial party organization; Ho Nghinh, deputy secretary of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party committee and delegate of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party organization; Bui Trong Tam, secretary of the Hai Hau district party committee and delegate of the Ha Nam Ninh provincial party organization; Nguyen Khac Man, secretary of the Vu Thang cooperative party committee in Thai Binh Province and delegate of the Thai Binh provincial party organization; and Le Van Pham, secretary of the Tien Giang provincial party committee and delegate of the Tien Giang provincial party organization.

In the afternoon the delegates listened to speeches by the following comrades: Y Ngong Niek Dam, secretary of the Dac Lac provincial party committee and delegate of the Dac Lac provincial party organization; Nguyen Duc Thuan, chairman of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions and delegate of the Dong Nai provincial party organization; Nguyen Thi Dinh, chairman of the Vietnam Women's Union and delegate of the Ban Tre provincial party organization; Dang Quoc Bao, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee and delegate of the armed forces party organization; Hoang No, secretary of the Son La provincial party committee and delegate of the Son La provincial party organization; Nguyen Ngoc Triu, minister of agriculture and delegate of the Thai Binh provincial party organization; Le Quang Thanh, secretary of the Vung Tau-Con Dao special zone party committee and delegate of the Vung Tau-Con Dao special zone party organization; Nguyen Tien Chinh, minister of maritime products and delegate of the Thuan Hai provincial party organization; Phan The Duyet, director of the Mao Khe coalmine and delegate of the Quang Ninh provincial party organization; Pham Cong Lac, director of the Danhim powerplant and delegate of the Thuan Hai provincial party organization; and Phan Thanh Liem, director of the machine tools plant No 1 and delegate of the Hanoi municipal party organization.

Their speeches unanimously agreed with the political report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade Le Duan and with other reports presented by the party Central Committee before the congress. Their speeches also pointed out specific measures for vigorously developing the economy and livelihood of the local people and submitted to the party and state specific petitions relating to their localities, sectors and circles.

#### Local Delegates' Speeches

BK290458 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0400 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] The fifth party congress continued to hold its plenary session this morning in the Ba Dinh Conference Hall. During this session the delegates listened to statements by the following comrades: Hoang Van Kieu, director of the Central Committee Department of Nationalities and delegate from Lang Son Province; Le Phuoc Tho, deputy secretary of the Hau Giang provincial party committee and delegate from Hau Giang province; Le Quang Dao, deputy secretary

of the Hai Hung provincial party committee and delegate of the Hai Hung provincial party organization; (Nguyen Thi Ngoc Lien), deputy secretary of the Thong Nhut district party committee and delegate of the Dong Nai provincial party organization; Ho Nghinh, secretary of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party committee and delegate of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party organization; Bui Trong Tam, secretary of the Nai Hau district party committee and delegate of the Ha Nam Ninh provincial organization; Nguyen Khac Man, secretary of the Vu Thang cooperative party committee in Thai Binh Province and delegate of the Thai Binh provincial party organization; Phan Xuan Dot, minister of forestry and delegate of the Ben Tre provincial party organization; and Y Ngong Niek Dam, secretary of Dan Lac provincial party committee and delegate of Dac Lac provincial party organization.

Their statements unanimously concurred with the political report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade Le Duan, and with other reports presented by the party Central Committee before the congress. Their statements also pointed out specific measures for vigorously developing the economy and livelihood of the local people in line with the lines and policies of the party and state. The comrades' statements also presented the problems of their localities to the party and the state.

MATERIALS ON FIFTH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

30 Mar Morning Session

BK300459 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0400 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Text] The Fifth VCP Congress continued its work at the Ba Dinh Conference hall on the morning of 30 March. Comrade Le Thanh Nghi, member of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau, directed the session on behalf of the congress Presidium.

The congress listened to speeches by the following comrades: Nguyen Thi Binh, minister of education and delegate of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party organization; Nguyen Van Hieu, minister of culture and information and delegate of the Minh Hai provincial party organization; Vu Van Can, minister of public health and delegate of the Hai Hung provincial party organization; Phan Thanh Liem, director of the Machine Tools Factory No 1 and delegate of the Hanoi municipal party organization; Bui Quang Tao, secretary of the Haiphong municipal party committee and delegate of the Haiphong municipal party organization; Bui San, secretary of the Binh Tri Thien provincial party committee and delegate of the Binh Tri Thien provincial party organization; To Thien, acting director of the Central Artisan and Handicraft Cooperatives Union and delegate of the Haiphong municipal party organization; Pham Ngoc Bich, director of the Nam Dinh textile complex and delegate of the Ha Nam Ninh provincial party organization; Nguyen Quang Loc, director of the Mien Nam detergent corporation and State Science and Technology Commission and delegate of the Quang Ninh provincial party organization; and Nguyen Van Chan, head of the Central Institute for Economic Management Research and delegate of the Vinh Phu provincial party organization.



Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, on behalf of the 15 million educational cadres, teachers and students throughout the country, expressed the high identity of views on the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party organization and the educational sector with the line of socialist revolution and the line of economic building laid down by the fourth party congress. Comrade Nguyen Thi Binh suggested that the party and administrative and mass organizations at all levels pay more attention to the education of our children.

Comrade Nguyen Van Hieu, on behalf of the cultural and art and letters sector, delivered a speech affirming the correct and creative line for art and letters set forth by the fourth party congress and the achievements recorded by the cultural and art and letters sector over the past years. He expressed the resolve of the workers in the field of culture and art and letters to acquire an even more profound understanding of the party's line for art and letters; to struggle against the vestiges of slavish culture; and to build a healthy and highly militant new culture.

Comrade Vu Van Can, speaking for the public health sector, pointed out active measures to be adopted to continuously promote public health work and to serve cadres and the people better. He proposed that the state establish a population committee to guide family planning work and population growth in accordance with our country's economic development.

In his speech Comrade Phan Thanh Liem, director of the machine tools factory No 1, highlighted the progress of the factory in particular and of the Vietnamese mechanical engineering sector in general. He affirmed: The Vietnamese mechanical engineering sector has still a very rich potential. If there is a rational policy, this sector can advance still further and produce many more sophisticated tools and equipment to support the national economy satisfactorily.

The speeches by other delegates also expressed complete identity of views with the political report read by Comrade Le Duan. They voiced the confidence that, in light of the resolution of the fifth party congress, our entire party and people will certainly advance to overcome difficulties and negativism and to record new victories in the cause of national construction and national defense.

#### Live Relay of Closing Session

BK310141 [Editorial Report] Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 0130 GMT on 31 March began live coverage of the closing session of the Fifth VCP Congress at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi. The announcer said that after 4 days of work, the congress was holding its closing session the morning of 31 March. He noted that in previous sessions the congress had heard a political report presented by Le Duan, an economic report by Pham Van Dong and a report on party building by Le Duc Tho. The announcer then briefly summarized the political and economic reports. He added that the congress was also addressed by foreign delegates, including those from the Soviet Union and Kampuchea. He then summarized these speeches.

At 0141 GMT the announcer continued to review the speeches heard by the congress. He presented brief summaries of the speeches by Le Van Luong on the tasks of Hanoi capital in the days to come, by Nguyen Van Linh on the tasks of

Ho Chi Minh City, by Le Van Pham on the agricultural tasks of Tien Giang Province, by Vuong Duong Tuong on tasks of Cao Bang Province on the northern border, and by Senior Gen Van Tien Dung on the strengthening of national defense. He also noted the speeches by other delegates from various localities and industrial and economic establishments on their new tasks.

At 0152 GMT the announcer reported on the achievements of various economic and industrial establishments in boosting production in honor of the fifth party congress. He said that the congress had received hundreds of messages and letters from people throughout the country and from overseas Vietnamese praising its work. It has also received many messages of greetings from fraternal parties and governments in the socialist community and other countries. The announcer then quoted from Soviet, Lao and Kampuchean publications praising the congress. He reported that hundreds of millions of people throughout the world viewed television coverage of the opening session of the congress.

At 0203 GMT, amid the sound of applause, the announcer reported that Le Duan was leading the members of the presidium to the podium. The announcer did not give the names of the presidium members.

At 0205 GMT the meeting began its work with Truong Chinh in the chair, who opened the session by announcing the agenda. He said:

"1. The congress will vote on the various resolutions of the congress.

"2. The congress will hear a reading of a list of foreign messages and letters and a number of domestic messages and letters welcoming the congress.

"3. Comrade Le Duc Tho will report on the results of the election of the VCP Central Committee, the election of the comrade general secretary, the election of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and the election of the VCP Central Committee Control Commission.

"4. Comrade General Secretary Le Duan will deliver a closing speech.

"5. The national anthem will be played to conclude the congress."

At 0207 GMT, following the reading of the agenda, Tran Quynh read the draft of congress Resolution No 1, entitled the "Resolution of the Fifth National VCP Congress on the Political Report of the Party Central Committee." He said:

"After discussing the party Central Committee political report presented by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, the fifth national congress of VCP delegates is resolved to:

"1. Agree on and unanimously pass the party Central Committee political report;

"2. Express high appreciation for the correct activities of the party Central Committee, fourth tenure, headed by General Secretary Le Duan, in leading our entire party, people and armed forces to implement the domestic and foreign lines laid down in the resolution of the fourth party congress;

"3. Entrust the party Central Committee, fifth tenure, with the duty of organizing the successful implementation of the tasks set forth in the political report already passed by the congress;

"4. Call on our entire party, people and armed forces to unite singlemindedly, continue to develop their tradition of patriotism, revolutionary heroism and the spirit of collective socialist mastery, vigorously struggle to overcome difficulties and shortcomings, most satisfactorily exploit all potentials, enhance militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries," and launch a revolutionary movement throughout the country with the determination successfully to build socialism and defend the fatherland in fulfillment of President Ho's testament.

After asking for a show of hands, Pham Van Dong announced that the congress "unanimously" passed the resolution.

At 0212 GMT, after the first resolution was approved, Troung Chinh invited Tran Quynh to present the second draft resolution. He read the "Resolution of the Fifth National Congress of VCP Delegates on the Orientation, Tasks and Main Targets in the Economic and Social Fields for the 1981-85 5-Year Period and for the 1980's" already presented to the congress by Troung Chinh. He said that the congress decided the following:

"1. Agree on and unanimously pass the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields set forth in the report of the party Central Committee;

"2. The party Central Committee, fifth tenure, and the Council of Ministers, on the basis of the aforementioned orientations, tasks and main target, will lead and organize the formulation of plans for 1981-85 and the preparation for later plans while adopting 'effective policies and measures to resolve the pressing problems facing production and the people's life.'"

After calling for a show of hands, Troung Chinh announced that this resolution was passed with "total unanimity."

At the invitation by Troung Chinh, Tran Quynh then read the third draft resolution "On Party Building and Supplements to the Party Statutes." He said that the congress decided to:

"1. Agree on and unanimously pass the party Central Committee report on party building;

"2. Agree on and unanimously pass the proposals of the party Central Committee for supplementing a number of specific points in the party statutes";

"3. All party organizations and every party cadre and member must implement the tasks and policies set forth in the report on party building in a scrupulous manner."

Truong Chinh, after calling for a show of hands, announced "unanimous" adoption of this resolution.

At 0218 GMT the announcer said that during the period of its work, the congress had received letters and messages from localities, individuals and collective throughout the country and from overseas Vietnamese. He then cited the names of communist parties in the world that had sent messages of greetings to the congress.

At 0223 GMT Le Duc Tho was invited to read the results of the election of the party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the general secretary. He said: "The Congress has elected the VCP Central Committee, fifth tenure, which comprises 152 comrades, including 116 official members and 36 alternate members." He then proceeded to read the list of Central Committee members. At 0232 GMT Le Duc Tho announced that the Central Committee had unanimously approved Le Duan as general secretary of the VCP Central Committee. He then presented the names of the members of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Control Commission.

Following the reading of the results of the party elections, at 0235 GMT Le Duan was invited to present the closing speech. At 0242 GMT he declared the congress closed amid prolonged applause. The Internationale was then played to conclude the report on the closing session. The live relay ended at 0245 GMT.

#### Central Committee Namelist

OW310851 Hanoi VNA in English 0742 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 31--The Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam has elected a new party Central Committee, which then elected its Political Bureau and its Secretariat. Following is the list of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam elected by its Fifth National Congress:

#### The Central Committee

##### 1. Full Members

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Le Duan                     | 16. Vo Van Kiet                |
| 2. Truong Chinh                | 17. Do Muoi                    |
| 3. Pham Van Dong               | 18. Nguyen Thanh Binh          |
| 4. Pham Hung                   | 19. Nguyen Van Chi (Sau Chi)   |
| 5. Le Duc Tho                  | 20. Do Chinh                   |
| 6. Vo Nguyen Giap              | 21. Cao Dang Chiem (Sau Hoang) |
| 7. Nguyen Duy Trinh            | 22. Nguyen Con                 |
| 8. Le Thanh Nghi               | 23. Le Quang Dao               |
| 9. Tran Quoc Hoan              | 24. Nguyen Thi Dinh            |
| 10. Van Tien Dung              | 25. Tran Do                    |
| 11. Nguyen Van Linh (Muoi Cuc) | 26. Tran Dong                  |
| 12. Le Van Luong               | 27. Ngo Duy Dong               |
| 13. Chu Huy Man                | 28. La Lam Gia (Bay May)       |
| 14. Vo Chi Cong                | 29. Song Hao                   |
| 15. To Huu                     | 30. Vu Thi Hong                |

- |                                  |                                |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 31. Le Khac                      | 75. Vu Dinh Lieu (Tu Binh)     |
| 32. Bui Thanh Khiết              | 76. Vu Ngoc Linh               |
| 33. Nguyen Lam                   | 77. Truong Minh                |
| 34. Tran Lam                     | 78. Y Mot                      |
| 35. Tran Le (Nam Hoa)            | 79. Ho Nghinh                  |
| 36. Tran Van Long (Muoi Dai)     | 80. Le Van Pham (Chin Hai)     |
| 37. Dong Si Nguyen               | 81. Bui San                    |
| 38. Nguyen Thi Nhu               | 82. Nguyen Van Sy              |
| 39. Do Van Nguyen (Tu Nguyen)    | 83. Bui Quang Tao              |
| 40. Vu Oanh                      | 84. Le Viet Thang (Viet Thang) |
| 41. Tran Phuong                  | 85. Le Phuoc Tho (Sau Hau)     |
| 42. Tran Quyet                   | 86. Mai Chi Tho (Nam Xuan)     |
| 43. Tran Quynh                   | 87. Tran Vi                    |
| 44. Tran Van Som                 | 88. Pham Bai                   |
| 45. Nguyen Duc Tam               | 89. Nguyen Ky Cam              |
| 46. Nguyen Co Thach              | 90. Nguyen Van Duc             |
| 47. Dang Thi                     | 91. Nguyen Van Hon (Sau Sen)   |
| 48. Nguyen Huu Thu               | 92. Pham Van Hy (Tu Hy)        |
| 49. Nguyen Duc Thuan             | 93. Hoang No                   |
| 50. Dao Duy Tung                 | 94. Hoang Quy                  |
| 51. Hoang Tung                   | 95. Pham Minh Tanh             |
| 52. Nguyen Dinh Tu               | 96. La Thang                   |
| 53. Nguyen Ngoc Triu             | 97. Vo Trung Thanh (Nam Vinh)  |
| 54. Nguyen Vinh                  | 98. Vu Thang                   |
| 55. Tran Xuan Bach               | 99. Hoang Minh Thang           |
| 56. Nguyen Duc Binh              | 100. Lam Van The (Ba Huong)    |
| 57. Le Duc Binh                  | 101. Vuong Duong Tuong         |
| 58. Nguyen Thi Binh              | 102. Le Duc Anh                |
| 59. Vu Dai                       | 103. Hoang Cam                 |
| 60. Tan Huu Dac                  | 104. Le Ngoc Hien              |
| 61. Nguyen Hoa                   | 105. Dan Vu Hiep               |
| 62. Dinh Nho Liem                | 106. Doan Khue                 |
| 63. Vu Mao                       | 107. Vu Lap                    |
| 64. Binh Phuong                  | 108. Bui Phung                 |
| 65. Vu Quang                     | 109. Nguyen Quyet              |
| 66. Le Duc Thinh                 | 110. Le Trong Tan              |
| 67. Nguyen Van Chinh (Chin Ca)   | 111. Hoang Van Thai            |
| 68. Le Quang Chu (Nam Chu)       | 112. Dam Quang Trung           |
| 69. Y Ngong Niek Dam             | 113. Nguyen The Bon            |
| 70. Nguyen Dang (Nam Trung)      | 114. Nguyen Minh Chau          |
| 71. Le Van Hien (Tam Hien)       | 115. Nguyen Nam Khanh          |
| 72. Tran Quoc Huong (Muoi Huong) | 116. Tran Van Phac             |
| 73. Nguyen Xuan Huu (Bay Huu)    |                                |
| 74. Tran Kien (Nguyen Tuan Tai)  |                                |

## 2. Alternate Members

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 117. Nguyen Chan      | 122. Nguyen Van Hieu |
| 118. Nguyen Canh Dinh | 123. Pham Hung       |
| 119. Le Van Dy        | 124. Dang Huu        |
| 120. Phan Xuan Dot    | 125. Nguyen Khanh    |
| 121. Hong Ha          | 126. Dinh Van Lap    |

127. Tran Duc Luong
128. Chu Tam Thuc
129. Phan Ngoc Tuong
130. Le Van Triet
131. Nguyen Tien Trinh
132. Nguyen Chi Vu
133. Pham The Duyet
134. Tran Thi Duong
135. Vu Ngoc Hai
136. Vu Tuyen Hoang
137. Phan Thanh Liem
138. Nguyen Thi Yen
139. Nguyen Van An

140. Le Dai
141. Tran Van Dien (Tam Be)
142. Ha Trong Hoa
143. Ha Thiet Hung
144. Phan Van Khai
145. Tran Tan
146. Doan Duy Thanh
147. Ha Xuan Truong
148. Doan Thanh Vi
149. Nguyen Thi Ngoc Lien
150. Trang A Pao
151. Nguyen Hoa
152. Ho Quang Hoa

#### Political Bureau Namelist

Following are the members of the Political Bureau:

- |                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Le Duan       | 8. Chu Huy Man     |
| 2. Truong Chinh  | 9. To Huu          |
| 3. Pham Van Dong | 10. Vo Van Kiet    |
| 4. Pham Hung     | 11. Do Muoi        |
| 5. Le Duc Tho    | 12. Le Duc Anh     |
| 6. Van Tien Dung | 13. Nguyen Duc Tam |
| 7. Vo Chi Cong   |                    |

#### 2. Alternate Members

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Nguyen Co Thach | 2. Dong Si Nguyen |
|--------------------|-------------------|

Following are the members of the Secretariat:

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Le Duan        | 6. Le Quang Dao      |
| 2. Le Duc Tho     | 7. Hoang Tung        |
| 3. Vo Chi Cong    | 8. Nguyen Thanh Binh |
| 4. Nguyen Duc Tam | 9. Tran Kien         |
| 5. Nguyen Lam     | 10. Tran Xuan Bach   |

#### Control Commission of the Central Committee

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tran Kien      | 5. Hoang Van Kieu   |
| 2. Nguyen Van Chi | 6. Pham Chanh       |
| 3. Vu Thi Hong    | 7. Nguyen Van Trong |
| 4. Tran Huu Duc   |                     |

## Le Duan Closing Speech

BK310520 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0235 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Speech by VCP General Secretary Le Duan delivered at the closing session of the Fifth VCP Congress--live]

[Text] Dear members of the Presidium,

Dear delegates,

Dear esteemed guests:

The Fifth VCP Congress represents the culmination of a process of stringent preparatory work that took more than 1 year to finish. It has combined the collective minds of the entire party to lay down the line for resolving the important and pressing problems that arise in the path of development and the progress of the revolution in our country. At this moment, we joyfully report to the entire party, people and armed forces that the Fifth National Congress of party delegates has successfully fulfilled its momentous duty. [applause]

The congress has discussed and unanimously passed the reports of the party Central Committee that set forth the strategic tasks in the struggle to build socialism and defend the fatherland; lay down the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 5-year period and for the 1980's; and reach decisions on the orientations for party building and the problems of supplementing the party statutes.

The congress has elected a new party Central Committee to ensure that the entire party will successfully implement the momentous tasks adopted by the congress.

The work of the congress vividly symbolizes the unity and identity of views of our entire party. The activities being performed in all parts of the country at this time reflect the close bond between our people and their leading party. Our entire country has been living in harmony with the party congress. Looking toward Hanoi, our entire party, people and armed forces have watched the work of the congress, full of hope and confidence. [applause]

From this congress, the voices of our international brothers and friends, filled with profound sentiments, have reverberated far and wide throughout our country, bringing to our Vietnamese communists and people the profound friendship, militant solidarity and sincere support of the great Soviet Union, the two fraternal neighboring countries of Laos and Kampuchea, other fraternal countries in the socialist community, the international communist and workers movements and revolutionary people the world over. And also at this congress, our distinguished guests have had an opportunity to witness manifestations of our party and people's deep gratitude for the fraternal parties and countries and for our militant friends throughout the five continents. [applause]

We heartily welcome the great contributions made by the compatriots and combatants throughout the country in preparing for this congress. We thank the

various mass societies, religious organizations and noted personages for sending their greetings. We heartily welcome the new achievements recorded by the various establishments, units, sectors and localities in the emulation drive to greet the congress. [applause]

We sincerely thank the international delegates for joining us and contributing to the success of the congress. We sincerely thank the fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations for sending to this congress messages and letters of greetings permeated with the feeling of proletarian internationalism. [applause]

We thank all the cadres, combatants and personnel of all sectors for the months they devoted to preparing for this congress and for their devoted services to the congress over the past few days. [applause]

On behalf of the comrades just elected to the leading bodies of the party, I pledge to devote all my efforts to fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted by the congress. [applause]

All for the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness. [applause]

This motto of action for the new revolutionary stage will surely help unite all the compatriots and combatants throughout the country and motivate them to launch a seething emulation movement to overcome all difficulties and challenges and successfully implement the important resolutions of the congress. [applause]

Ahead of us lies a difficult and complex struggle. However, our entire party, people and armed forces are being reinforced with a new vitality brought about by the historic resolutions of the congress. We are determined to fully implement the sacred testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh. [applause] No opposing force can check our advance! [applause] With this iron-clad conviction, I declare the Fifth National Congress of party delegates closed! [applause]

#### First Resolution

BK310610 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0130 GMT 31 Mar 82

[First resolution of the Fifth VCP Congress presented by Tran Quynh, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the closing session of the congress--live]

[Text] The resolution of the Fifth National VCP Congress on the political report of the VCP Central Committee:

After discussing the party Central Committee political report presented by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, the Fifth National Congress of VCP delegates is resolved to:

1. Agree on and unanimously pass the party Central Committee political report which appraises the successes and achievements that our entire party, people and army have scored over the past 5 years in the political, military, economic,



cultural and foreign relations fields; assesses those difficulties and shortcomings which we must struggle to overcome; sets forth the strategic tasks facing the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage; defines the orientations, tasks and targets for the 1981-85 period and for the 1980's; and presents various policies and measures aimed at constantly advancing the revolutionary cause of our working class and people.

2. Express high appreciation for the correct activities of the party Central Committee, fourth tenure, headed by General Secretary Le Duan, in leading our entire party, people and armed forces to implement the domestic and foreign lines laid down in the resolution of the fourth party congress.

3. Entrust the party Central Committee, fifth tenure, with the duty of organizing the successful implementation of the tasks set forth in the political report already passed by the congress.

4. Call on our entire party, people and armed forces to unite singlemindedly; continue to develop their tradition of patriotism, revolutionary heroism and the spirit of collective socialist mastery; vigorously struggle to overcome difficulties and shortcomings; exploit most satisfactorily all potentials; enhance militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries; strengthen solidarity with the progressive people throughout the world; and vigorously launch a revolutionary movement and an emulation drive on a national scale with the determination to fulfill the tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland successfully, actively contribute to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism; and implement the sacred testament of venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

#### Second Resolution

BK310645 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0130 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Second resolution of the Fifth VCP Congress presented by Tran Quynh, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the closing session of the congress--live]

[Text] The resolution of the Fifth National Congress of VCP delegates on the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 5-year period and for the 1980's:

After discussing the party Central Committee report presented by Comrade Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 5-year period and for the 1980's, the Fifth National Congress of VCP delegates has decided to:

1. Agree on and unanimously pass the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields set forth in the report of the party Central Committee, and regard these as the Congress's guiding instructions for the formulation of the 5-year (1981-85) plan and the basis for later plans.

2. The fifth session of the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, on the basis of the aforementioned orientations, tasks and main targets, will lead and organize the formulation of the 5-year (1981-85) plan and the preparation for later plans. While urgently formulating the 5-year (1981-85) plan, the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers must quickly adopt effective policies and measures to resolve the pressing problems facing production and the people's life. They must revise economic and social management activities, eliminate negative phenomena in economic activities as well as in social life, and organize and vigorously promote the revolutionary movement and the socialist emulation movement on a national scale, so as to struggle to fulfill satisfactorily the present economic and social tasks.

### Third Resolution

BK310720 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0130 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Third resolution of the Fifth VCP Congress presented by Tran Quynh, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the closing session of the congress--live]

[Text] The resolution of the Fifth National VCP Congress on party building and supplements to the party statutes:

After discussing the party Central Committee's report presented by Comrade Le Duc Tho, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, on party building and on proposals for supplementing a number of points in the party statutes, the Fifth National Congress of VCP delegates decides to:

1. Agree on and unanimously pass the party Central Committee report on party building; on the assessment of the party situation covering the progress and shortcomings shown in the party building activities during the past few years; and on the tasks and policies designed to strengthen the party politically, ideologically and organizationally in order to improve the working class and vanguard character of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, constantly improve the fighting strength and the leadership skills of the party, enhance the unity and unanimity of the party, develop its fine revolutionary traditions and ensure the fulfillment of the revolutionary tasks set forth by the congress.

2. Agree on and unanimously pass the proposals of the party Central Committee for supplementing a number of specific points in the party statutes.

3. All party organizations and every party cadre and member must implement the tasks and policies set forth in the report on party building; pay constant attention to building the party so that it will become ever more stable and stronger politically, ideologically and organizationally; and fully exercise the principles of democratic centralism, self-criticism and criticism in party activities. All party cadres and members must strictly abide by the party statutes and must struggle to temper themselves in all aspects so as to become truly worthy of being the leaders and faithful servants of the people as advised by venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

## Truong Chinh's Opening Speech

BK281216 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0205 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Speech by Truong Chinh at the Fifth VCP Congress opening session held at Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi--live]

[Text] The Presidium, Dear Comrade Delegates:

The Fifth National Congress of delegates of our glorious VCP is being held in an atmosphere marked by enthusiasm and unity among the entire party, people and army who, for the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, are courageously advancing on the path of revolutionary struggle. This is an extremely glorious path, but one which is replete with difficulties and hardships.

At this solemn hour, with boundless regret our congress recalls the memory of great President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and trainer of our party, the venerated and beloved leader of the Vietnamese working movement. The congress recalls the memory of Comrades Ton Duc Thang, Nguyen Luong Bang and other members of the party Central Committee who have passed away in the period since the fourth party congress. The congress recalls the memory of those party members, people and combatants of the heroic people's armed forces who have valiantly given their lives for the cause of national defense and national construction.

I propose that you comrades observe a minute's silence in commemoration of the martyrs. The minute of commemoration now begins. [about 15 seconds of silence observed] The minute is over.

Dear Comrade Delegates,

Our party's mission is to lead the people throughout the country in successfully building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam and ensuring our nation's everlasting independence and freedom. All for the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness, such is the aim of the revolutionary struggle and a slogan guiding the daily action of the entire party.

In the period since the fourth party congress, many very important events have taken place in our country. Our people have worked hard to overcome numerous difficulties and have recorded great victories and many achievements in many fields, taking the Vietnamese revolution to a new strategic position and creating greater capabilities for building socialism and defending the fatherland. But besides victories and achievements, we have encountered many difficulties that have beset a country which has been ravaged by fierce and prolonged wars caused by the imperialists and which at present is facing schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression by a new enemy: Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. In leadership and management of the economy and society, our party and state have scored positive points and made progress in some respects, and have also displayed many deficiencies and shortcomings in others.

The present situation poses heavy tasks for our party and people.

This fifth congress of our party will review the implementation of the line set forth by the fourth congress, correctly assess achievements and shortcomings, recognize the actual prevailing economic and social conditions and analyze the causes of successes and difficulties. It will also set forth the main economic and social orientations, tasks and targets for 1981-85 and for the 1980's and the major policies and measures for developing favorable conditions, overcoming difficulties and correctly resolving the important and pressing problems concerning socialist construction and national defense, and the pressing problems concerning production and the people's life and the stepping up of party-building work. This is to allow us to continue the steady advance of our people's revolutionary cause and make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people. The congress will decide on a number of revisions and amendments to the party's statutes and will elect a new party Central Committee.

With decisions of paramount significance for the successful implementation of the party line and the big and complex revolutionary tasks in the present situation of the country and the international background, the fifth national party congress will mark a vigorous turn for the better in our party's capacity for leadership and for organizing the implementation of tasks, in the quality of its cadres and members, and in the close relations between the VCP and our working class and entire people.

It is for this reason that our people throughout the country and Vietnamese residents overseas, with their love for and deep confidence in their leading party, are keenly following the work of the party congress; and that, for many months now, a vigorous emulation movement has been stirred up in all parts of the country and fields of activity to score achievements to greet the fifth party congress. [applause]

Our congress warmly commends all the people, their armed forces, and party cadres and members who have upheld revolutionary heroism [applause] and untiringly struggled for the cause of building socialism and defending the beloved fatherland, and who are achieving encouraging results in the socialist emulation movement. [applause]

On behalf of the congress Presidium I warmly welcome the 1,033 comrade delegates to the congress, outstanding representatives of the more than 1.7 million party members. [applause]

I am fully confident that, with their revolutionary spirit and their full sense of responsibility to the party and people, the comrade delegates will work to the best of their ability and will make use of the entire party's intellect to contribute actively and effectively to the fine success of the congress, thereby responding to the wishes of the entire party and people. [applause]

The fraternal parties in the international communist and workers movement as well as our friends all over the world have been constantly and wholeheartedly supporting, assisting and showing warm sympathy for the revolutionary struggle of our people and the leadership of our party in the wars of resistance against foreign aggression in the past as well as our present cause of building and defending the fatherland. [applause]

I solemnly propose that the congress extend a warm welcome to the comrade delegates of the fraternal communist and workers parties, of the revolutionary organizations and movements from various countries in the world, who have come to attend the Fifth VCP Congress, bringing the militant solidarity and a valuable inspiration to the party and people of Vietnam. [prolonged applause] [The voice of an unidentified person is heard, saying that "At Comrade Truong Chinh's proposal, the congress stands up and warmly applauds the international delegations attending our party congress."] Our congress warmly welcomes:

The CPSU delegation, headed by Comrade Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee [prolonged applause];

The LPRP delegation, headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The KPRP delegation, headed by Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the party Central Committee [prolonged applause];

The Communist Party of France delegation, headed by Comrade Paul Laurent, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Polish United Workers Party delegation, headed by Comrade Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Bulgarian Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Milko Balev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Communist Party of Cuba delegation, headed by Comrade Jesus Montane Oropesa, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee [prolonged applause];

The Socialist United Party of Germany delegation, headed by Comrade Konrad Naumann, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and first secretary of the Berlin party committee [applause];

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party delegation, headed by Comrade Laszlo Marothy, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and first secretary of the Budapest party committee [applause];

The MPRP delegation, headed by Comrade Tumbabayarn Ragchaa, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and first deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers [applause] [At this point, Truong Chinh lowers his voice and says: "Comrades, please wait until I finish reading a sentence before applauding."]

The Romanian Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Ion Coman, member of the party Political Executive Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The KWP delegation, headed by Comrade Kim Il-tae, member of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Albanian Workers Party delegation, headed by Gafur Cuci, member of the party Central Committee [applause];

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan delegation, headed by Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, member of the Revolutionary Council and minister of communications [prolonged applause];

The Algerian National Liberation Front Party delegation, headed by Comrade Djelloul Bakhti Nemich, member of the party Central Committee and minister of veterans affairs [applause];

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party delegation, headed by Ambrosio Lukoki, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Communist Party of India delegation, headed by Comrade Prem Sagar Gupta, member of the party National Council [applause];

The Communist Party of India/Marxist delegation, headed by Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjit, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Communist Party of Bangladesh delegation, headed by Comrade Mohammad Farhad, general secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Communist Party of Chile delegation, headed by Comrade Jorge Insunza, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Congolese Workers Party delegation, headed by Pierre Nze, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and minister of foreign affairs [applause];

The German Communist Party [SED] delegation, headed by Comrade Karl-Heinz Schroeder, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The delegation of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia [COPWE], headed by Comrade Kassaya Aragaw, member of the party Central Committee and COPWE representative for Gojam region [applause];

The New Jewel Movement Party of Grenada delegation, headed by Comrade Ewart Layne, member of the party Central Committee and first deputy minister of defense [applause];

The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Iraq delegation, headed by Comrade 'Abdullah Fadil Abbas, member of the Revolution Command Council and member of the party leadership committee [applause];

The Communist Party of Iraq delegation, headed by Comrade Paxim Ajina, member of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Communist Party of Italy delegation, headed by Comrade Luciano Barca, member of the party Central Committee leadership committee [applause];

The Revolutionary Vanguard Party of Madagascar delegation, headed by Comrade Radaody Rakotondravao Laurent, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Madagascar Independence Congress Party delegation, headed by Comrade Rakotomalala Manan Ignace, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Mozambique Liberation Front Party delegation, headed by Comrade Mariano Matsinhe, member of the party Central Committee Political bureau and minister of interior [applause];

The Communist Party of U.S.A. delegation, headed by Comrade James West, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The South African Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Moses Mabhida, secretary general of the party Central Committee [applause];

The African National Congress Party delegation, headed by Comrade Stanley Mabizele, member of the Revolutionary Council [applause];

The delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, headed by Comrade Jacinto Suarez, member of the front Central Committee [applause];

The Socialist Party of Australia delegation, headed by Comrade Alan Miller, secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Communist Party of Australia delegation, headed by Comrade Bernice Taft, co-secretary general of the party Central Committee [applause];

The PLO delegation, headed by Comrade Samih Abu Kuwayq, member of the Fatah Central Committee [applause];

The Finnish Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Arvo Aalto, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front delegation, headed by Comrade Salvador Cavetano Carpio or Commander Marcial, member of the front General Command and the first person in charge of the El Salvador People's Farabundo Marti Liberation Forces [applause];

The Syria Arab Socialist Ba'th Party delegation, headed by Mohamed Zuhayr Mashariqah, deputy secretary general of the party leadership committee [applause];

The Syrian Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Daniel Na'imi, member of the party Central Committee, Political Bureau [applause];

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka delegation, headed by Comrade Silva, general secretary of the party Central Committee [applause];

The Swedish Left Communist Party delegation, headed by Comrade Kennet Kvist, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Swedish Workers Communist Party delegation, headed by John Takman, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau [applause];

The Yemen Socialist Party delegation, headed by Comrade 'Ali Shayi Hadi, alternate member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Supreme Committee for Party Control [applause];

The delegation of the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, headed by Comrade (Litkovich Karoly), member of the editorial staff [applause];

Dear comrades, the VCP is a staunch revolutionary party which is boundlessly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the nation's destiny and the people's interests. With the strength of the traditional unity and singleness of mind in the entire party, with its experience in revolutionary struggle, with the close relations between the party and the people, and with the strength of the international solidarity between our people and other peoples around the world, our party will certainly be able to fulfill its weighty and glorious tasks and will always be worthy of being the leader and truly faithful servant of the people, and the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution. [applause]

With enthusiasm and profound confidence in the brilliant success of the congress, on behalf of the presidium, I declare the Fifth National Congress of delegates of the glorious VCP open. [applause]

I would like to invite Comrade General Secretary Le Duan to read his report. [prolonged applause]



PHAM VAN DONG REPORT TO VCP CONGRESS

BK210700 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Mar 82 pp 2-6

[Economic Report by Pham Van Dong, SRV Council of Ministers chairman, presented at the opening session of the Fifth VCP Congress on 27 March 1982 in Hanoi]

[Text]

Members of the presidium, comrade delegates: The party Central Committee's political report presented to this congress by the general secretary, Comrade Le Duan, has given a panoramic view of our people's revolutionary cause from the fourth to the fifth party congress. The report has summarized the diverse developments of the country's situation in the first years of the new stage in which our people throughout the country have been engaging in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland. Analyzing the achievements as well as the weaknesses in our advance, the report affirms that the past 5 years can be recorded in our national history as a stage of very glorious victory of the Vietnamese revolution; and at the same time, it also points out acute problems in the present economic and social situation. On this basis, the report defines the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, the major guidelines for our people's activities in the immediate first stage including the period of the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan and the years ending 1990.

Based on the political report, this report is to review the major points in the implementation of the 1976-80 plan and present the main orientations, tasks and targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 period and the 1980's as a whole, with a view to building the elaboration of the 1981-85 Five-Year State Plan.

## First Part

### Reflecting on the Economic and Social Situation in the Years 1976-80 and the Present

The 5 years 1976-80--which marked the beginning of a new stage of the Vietnamese revolution--saw a heroic struggle carried on by our entire people on two fronts: Fighting against the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression by all sorts of enemies; and building a new life under extremely difficult conditions. This was also the period in which our efforts in combat and labor vividly reflected the heroic character and noble qualities of the Vietnamese laboring people and nation.

On the economic front, noteworthy achievements were recorded by our people. We strove hard to overcome the serious consequences of the wars of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and their henchmen--restoring the majority of industrial and agricultural establishments and communications lines in the north and rebuilding rural areas devastated by war in the south. The state-run and collective economies in the north continued to be consolidated. In the south, the process of socialist transformation helped eliminate the comprador bourgeoisie and private industry and commerce were initially transformed and reorganized. Some of the peasants in Nam Bo were reorganized into production collectives; and the peasants in southern Trung Bo were introduced to collective work. A socialist countryside, especially in the north, was taking shape with improvements made in material and cultural life. The social work force was initially redistributed. The material-technical bases of the national economy and the production capacity of almost all sectors, and localities kept expanding. Production developed faster than previously in a number of fields, especially in agriculture. Thanks to efforts by the state and the entire people in reclaiming fallow and virgin lands, practicing multicropping, carrying out water conservancy and enlarging the cultivated area, we persevered through repeated and serious natural calamities and overcame famine which had once posed a grave threat to large regions of the country. Many achievements were also recorded on the cultural, educational, scientific, technological, literary, artistic, public health and other fronts.

Progressive models and diverse experiences emerged from every field of activities; and this is a favorable factor for development in subsequent years. We must accurately assess these achievements, which were recorded with innumerable efforts by our workers, peasants, intellectuals and armed forces. These efforts were exerted amidst extreme difficulties and privations plaguing a basically impoverished country which had gone through a fierce, arduous and protracted struggle necessitated by the very complicated developments of the international and regional situation.

In the 5 years 1976-80, however, the results of production did not justify the spent labor and invested capital; the major economic imbalances still remained grave; the national income failed to ensure social consumption while the population was growing at a fast rate; the market, prices, finances and money were unstable; and the life of the laboring people--especially that of workers, civil servants and peasants in areas afflicted by natural and enemy-caused calamities--was still fraught with difficulties.

The prouder we are of the heroic people who have recorded victory, the more serious we should be in analyzing shortcomings and mistakes and in drawing lessons from our experiences so as to respond more satisfactorily to the people's legitimate aspirations.

In reviewing what we have or have not yet been able to accomplish, and in trying to find the causes of our achievements and difficulties and of our strengths and weaknesses, a major question arises: Why is it that while the lines of socialist revolution and socialist economic building set forth by the fourth party congress are correct--and after having been implemented for 5 years--we have not yet obtained economic results commensurate with the country's requirements and our capacity?

First of all, let us have another look at the lines laid down by the fourth party congress.

The lines of socialist revolution and socialist economic building clearly pointed out that we must hold fast to proletarian dictatorship; promote the working people's collective mastery; simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution--of which the scientific and technological revolution is the kingpin; build the system of collective mastery in all respects, large-scale socialist production, new culture and a new type of socialist man; thoroughly understand the central task for the entire transitional period--namely, carrying out socialist industrialization nationwide, giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, and integrating agriculture and industry into an agroindustrial structure; build the centrally run economy while developing the regional economies, and integrate the centrally run economy and the regional economies into a unified national economic structure; combine developing productive forces with establishing and perfecting new production relations; combine economic building with national defense; and combine the development of the national economy with the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries, especially the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

These lines are a correct application of the laws of socialist revolution and socialism to the conditions of our country on the basis of a correct evaluation of the major characteristics of our country and the world in our time. They also reflect the will and aspirations of our people, who are striving to advance directly from an economy in which small-scale production still prevails to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Realities of the revolution in our country, with our achievements and our shortcomings in the process of organizing the implementation of our tasks, have proven the correctness of the party's line.

Because these lines were to be applied for the entire period of transition to socialism, they must highlight nationwide socialist industrialization as the central task of the transitional period. We should have, as the political report stressed, "concretized the general line and the economic line, and based ourselves on the economic line to devise a socioeconomic strategy, development plans, and major positions, policies and measures for the entire country as well as each sector and each field of activity, which were consistent with the specific historical conditions of our country and the demands and capabilities of our people in each stage." We have not yet, however, carried out this task satisfactorily. We have failed to define clearly a strategy for the initial stage of socialist industrialization and, on this basis, to formulate a scientific 1976-1980 State Plan. We have not applied the general line and economic line in a manner consistent with the specific situation of our country which has just been reunified after more than 30 years of destructive war, so as to meet the most pressing socioeconomic demands in conformity with the real and latent capacities of the country.

We still have not seen all the difficulties and complexities in numerous aspects during the long period of time which we were compelled to go through in an effort to advance to socialism from an economy in which small production was still popular; we still have not fully seen the scope of postwar economic and social upheavals and the disastrous consequences of neocolonialism; we have not yet foreseen all the difficulties caused by the hostile policy pursued by the Chinese expansionists and the two wars of aggression they have waged along the southwestern border and northern border of our country; we still have not seen all the difficulties and complexities in the struggle to overcome the weaknesses in our economic and social management; and we still have not anticipated all the developments that could adversely affect the world situation. Meanwhile, we have not even seen all the practical and great potentials which could be developed in order to satisfy the needs arising from the first stage of our struggle for socialist industrialization.

The enormous waste of manpower and materials stemmed from such incorrect assessments of the situation and from our subjectiveness and haste in setting forth the tasks and norms for the state plan--which were too heavy and too high compared with our abilities--and the policies concerning production, construction, distribution and circulation, which were not fully based on the facts. On the other hand, we were too conservative and sluggish in implementing the party's lines and the party Central Committee's resolutions, as well as in assessing and employing the country's potential in numerous aspects. We have long maintained a system of management which is fraught with red tape and subsidization and a restricted and inflexible method of planning, thus making it impossible for all grassroots units, localities and sectors to uphold their responsibility and develop their initiative, and for the central level to concentrate logically on matters that it should control. We have also maintained too long a number of economic policies which are no longer suitable, thus hampering production and the effort to develop the revolutionary zeal and creative working strength of laborers.

Failing to react quickly to new developments in the situation with effective measures was one of the big shortcomings in our managerial work and operational guidance. When the national economy encountered big changes, if we had known how to adjust all plans promptly and basically, to bring forth uniform and decisive measures, and to enable all sectors and echelons to coordinate their activities closely in order to overcome the imbalances gradually and partly, the situation would certainly have changed and become better than it is now.

When the economy is developing slowly and declining in certain aspects, it is natural that it will adversely affect other activities. Meanwhile, the economy itself can also be affected by shortcomings in other noneconomic domains.

Because ideological and cultural work was carried out with inadequate effectiveness and militancy, it failed to make the entire party and people thoroughly aware of the party's lines. Because the socialist legal system was less effective, the struggle against negative manifestations and criminals was less decisive and radical. There were shortcomings--in terms of training, assignment and treatment--in tasks related to cadres, including the use of scientific, technical and managerial cadres.

The shortcomings and errors committed in leadership and economic and social management over the past 5 years are very serious. In succession to the vehement self-criticism of the party Central Committee which was presented by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan in the political report, I would like to emphasize that the responsibility for the aforementioned shortcomings--especially in formulating and directing the implementation of various plans--first of all, rests with our Council of Ministers. These are the well-deserved lessons for us to carry out our tasks in the immediate future and later on.

Comrade delegates, at present, the socioeconomic situation of our country is facing acute problems.

The people, especially the workers and civil servants, encounter many difficulties in their lives; the sources of energy and raw material supplies and the communications and transportation force cannot bring into play the existing production capacities; exports are not enough to pay for imports; the market and prices undergo complex developments; in some aspects, the socialist battlefield is invaded by capitalist and nonsocialist elements; the management and planning systems are still permeated with bureaucratism and subsidization; and the negative phenomena in the socioeconomic life persists.

Our country is now in a situation in which it enjoys peace while having to cope with a multifaceted war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialism; at the same time, it must stand ready to deal with a possibly large-scale war of aggression unleashed by the enemy. Such a situation requires that we always remain alert, pay the utmost attention to consolidating national defense and security and maintain high combat readiness. The capitalist world's economy continues to undergo upheavals in the 1980's. The energy and raw material crisis, soaring international prices and the sabotage and embargo policy of the U.S. imperialists and Chinese reactionaries have created new difficulties for our national economy.

We have great capacities and favorable conditions for overcoming the difficulties and advancing the economy.

These include millions of hectares of agricultural land which can be opened and put into production; the capacity for multicropping, practicing intensive cultivation and increasing crop yields; and millions of hectares of forested land which have not yet been protected and exploited satisfactorily.

These include the work forces which have not yet been fully mobilized, and the contingent of skilled workers as well as the large contingent of scientific and technical cadres who have not yet been used rationally to step up various economic activities; to develop agriculture, forestry and fishery; to develop various sectors and trades; to produce consumer and export goods; and to build the material and technical base of socialism gradually.

These include the existing production capacities which have not yet been fully exploited, and a number of projects which will be completed and put into production such as various cement, electrical power, fertilizer, chemical and mechanical engineering projects, and ship building and repair plants, spinning plants, paper mills, sugar refineries, piers, and so forth.

These include diversified resources in the form of minerals, water sources, and oil and gas deposits which are being explored and which will be exploited.

These include our progress in economic leadership and management and in social management, our deeper knowledge of the country's realities, our more profound understanding of the party's lines, and the lessons drawn from our own experiences over the past 5 years.

These include the great and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. Our country's all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries is an extremely important factor which helps us to overcome difficulties and to advance. The multifaceted and increasingly closer relations among the three Indochinese countries have opened up new prospects for their economic cooperation and mutual assistance and have created additional sources of supplies for the economy of each country. In our economic relations with other countries, we can use many forms of activities to expand exchanges and cooperation.

In 1981 the first year of the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan, our people made encouraging initial progress in some fields of activities, especially in agricultural, industrial, artisan and handicraft production. Worth noting is that, to implement the resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee and the newly promulgated party and state policies, a number of establishments, localities and sectors have recently carried out innovations in production, business and management. These new factors should be studied thoroughly and profoundly and useful conclusions drawn therefrom for application in reality.

In agriculture, we either fulfilled or overfulfilled the plans for the production of grain and various types of industrial crops although fertilizer, insecticides and energy were provided in lesser amounts than previously. The need

for grain in the countryside was met more satisfactorily; the peasants discharged their grain obligation toward the state with enthusiasm; and the serious consequences of natural calamities that had befallen the north in 1980 were primarily overcome. At present the form of contracting out product quotas to groups of workers and individual workers is becoming a driving force in our effort to promote the emulation movement to develop production and increase economic results in agriculture. This contractual form is posing new problems concerning organization and management, the consolidation of cooperatives and material-technical installations which must be promptly resolved by state organs in order to continue advancing the movement for developing agriculture and advancing it to socialist large-scale production.

In industry as well as in capital construction and communications and transportation, the broadening of the socialist entrepreneurial right in production and business and the application of product-based and contract wages and bonuses together with other policies designed to stimulate production are motivating workers in many establishments, sectors and localities to bring their creative capabilities into play and overcome difficulties in production. Encouraging initial results have been recorded: Industrial output, especially that of local industries, small industry and handicrafts, increased over 1980; a number of key capital construction projects were carried out on schedule; and the new method of "the central and local levels work together, the state and the people work together" has been applied on a gradually broader scale.

Although the changes brought about in 1981 were not vigorous and steady, they testify to the fact that the abundant labor and creativity of our people and our country's contingent of scientific and technological cadres have been initially developed thanks to the improvements made in the managerial system by the promulgation of new policies. They also mark a new step forward in the development of the laboring people's right to collective mastery in economic and social management. The process of preparing for the fifth national party congress provided an opportunity for the entire party and people to look back upon and think about the past, draw useful lessons and see more clearly the way ahead. This is our maturity and also a new factor we can count upon. We have taken a step forward after the years 1976-80.

Our people's cause of building socialism still remains difficult and far from completion. The old difficulties that have yet to be overcome, together with the fresh ones, are further aggravating the imbalances of the economy in some respects. As an immediate step, we must urgently resolve scores of problems concerning grain, food, clothing medicine, energy, raw materials, communications and transport, prices, wages, finances, money and so forth.

With the valuable experiences gained along the path they have just traversed, our people are determined to develop their stalwart tradition, bring all their minds and energy into full play and struggle persistently to triumph over difficulties. Our people have adequate capabilities to bring about revolutionary changes in the economic and social fields in order to continue advancing our country in furtherance of the great revolutionary cause, successfully build socialism and defend our beloved fatherland.

## Second Part

### The Main Orientations, Tasks and Targets in the Economic and Social Fields for the 1981-85 Period and the 1980's

Comrade delegates, the political report has expounded positions of principle governing the elaboration of the economic and social strategy for the socialist industrialization process in the 1980's, and has set forth the economic, cultural and social tasks for the 1981-85 period. These strategic positions constitute an application of the party's lines of socialist revolution and of building a socialist economy in keeping with the specific conditions of the present stage. The report has set forth overall targets in the economic and social fields for the 1980's as follows:

1. To meet the most pressing and essential needs, gradually stabilize and eventually improve to some extent the people's material and cultural life, first of all to bring about a steady solution to the foodgrain and foodstuffs problem, better meet the requirements in clothing, study, medical care, housing, traveling, child care, and other essential consumption needs.
2. To continue building the material and technological basis of socialism, mainly to boost agricultural production, consumer goods industry and exports; strengthen further the technical equipment of the other economic branches; and to make preparations for a more vigorous development of heavy industry in the next stage.
3. To complete the socialist transformation in the southern provinces, further perfect the socialist relations of production in the north, and consolidate the socialist relations of production in the whole country.
4. To meet the defense requirements, consolidate national defense and maintain security and order.

These overall targets must be concretized into partial objectives, quantitative norms to be achieved in each branch, each locality and each establishment. This is closely linked to the inventorying and calculations in order to bring into play the capabilities, to work out a balance between the requirements and the possibilities and to lay down executive measures regarding policies, ideology and organization through the establishment of economic-technical projects. That is precisely the process of elaborating the economic and social strategy, working out the stateplan, and renovating the management mechanism.

On the basis of the results achieved so far, this report will expound the main orientations, tasks and targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 period and the 1980's as a whole.

After the fifty party congress, the actual time left for the 5-year 1981-85 plan will be a little more than 3 years. Therefore, the objectives, policies and measures must be very realistic and firm.



In meeting the people's daily needs, we must manage to meet the food requirements of society to the extent of securing enough foodgrain, vegetables, beans and sauce, and an increased supply of sugar, molasses, fish, meat, and eggs. We must achieve a stable supply of food and fuel rations to the workers, civil servants and armymen, especially in the cities, industrial areas, border areas and offshore islands. We must resolve the problem of clothing for all people at a required minimum and according to our capabilities; ensure the supply of writing paper, schoolbook paper and newsprint and an appropriate amount of printing paper for other purposes; try with a high sense of urgency to do away with the shortage of medicines, especially essential ones; ensure a better supply of household implements and common articles for personal use; increase the means of transport; make a further step in alleviating the housing shortages, and ensure an increased supply of water for domestic use, a rational supply of electricity and hygienic conditions in populated areas. While caring for the people's life as a whole, our priority should be given to people directly engaged in production, especially to workers, together with cadres and soldiers. Along with striving to stabilize and improve to some extent the people's material life, we must pay the greatest attention to organizing the cultural life in each enterprise and cooperative, in villages, city wards, districts, precincts, provinces, towns and cities. We must develop positive factors, resolutely stop and eliminate negativism in the economic and social life and establish a new socialist order, an honest way of doing business, good social relations and a healthy and joyful lifestyle.

In the field of building the material and technological basis, we must attach great importance to the development in depth, namely making transformations, additions, and improvements in order to put to good use the existing capabilities; at the same time, we must carry on the development in breadth, undertake new constructions in a selective manner, strengthen the material-technical facilities available for immediate use in the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan while making active preparations to deploy construction work on a larger scale and at a quicker tempo in subsequent plans. In strengthening the material and technological basis both in depth and in breadth we are to concentrate on boosting agricultural production, increasing the capacity of producing consumer and export goods, creating new sources of energy and raw materials, developing the infrastructure, especially the communications and transport capacity, and at the same time we are to ensure the adequate supply of ordinary and improved tools of various kinds, and an increased number of medium-size and small machines and equipment for various economic activities, to stimulate the key branches in the first place.

In the field of socialist transformation, we must conduct in a very resolute way the revolution in the relations of production, adopting proper steps and forms.

Hesitating or delaying in the establishment of the socialist production relations or committing acts that tend to weaken them is tantamount to slackening the struggle between the two paths and will bring about dangerous economic and social consequences.

We must establish and consolidate the socialist relations of production, so that the economic situation is stabilized on healthy foundations and develops in the right direction. We advocate the use of a multicomponent economic structure in which the socialist economy plays the leading role. This means that we must correctly step up the socialist transformation. In the 1981-85 period, we must resolutely carry out land readjustment and complete in the main the taking of the peasants in the provinces of Nam Bo into the collective path, mainly in the form of production collectives; continue to organize and consolidate the farm cooperatives in central provinces; step up the transformation of trade, transport fishery and industry in the south; make intensive efforts to rearrange and handle the national market; and make a further step toward perfecting the socialist relations of production.

In the field of national defense and security, we must make the greatest efforts for a good performance in the defense of the country and the maintenance of the security of the fatherland. With an economy closely combined with national defense and a defense combined with the economy, we are to work out plans for an active and swift shift from an economy of peace to one of war, in case of necessity.

We must adequately meet the economic demands arising from the task of consolidating national defense. On the other hand, conditions must be created for army units to engage in production so they can partially meet their own needs. The capabilities of national defense establishments must be mobilized and the army forces must be rationally used in appropriate economic activities. We must build an all-people, comprehensive and modern national defense and an army with a determined-to-win spirit, with strict discipline and with an increasingly high level of standardization and modernization and an increasingly perfect status of combat readiness. We must build a clean, firm and strong people's security force and closely coordinate the security and armed forces with the mass movement in maintaining political security, order and social safety and halting and eliminating negativism.

To achieve these objectives, we must correctly apply the line of socialist revolution and that of building a socialist economy charted out by the fourth party congress and major policies for the 1980's expounded in the political report to the fifth congress.

While implementing these lines and policies, special attention should be paid to the following very important points:

First, we should always firmly grasp the main contents of socialist industrialization in the 5-year 1981-85 plan and in the 1980's as a whole, which are to concentrate efforts to develop agriculture vigorously, regard agriculture as the forefront, take a further step in advancing agriculture to socialist large-scale production, strive hard to boost consumer goods production and continue to build a number of important heavy industries; and combine agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

We must develop agriculture in an all-round manner along with forestry and fishery, first and foremost to boost the production of foodgrain and foodstuffs. In close connection with an all-round development of agriculture, we must make the fullest use of all forces from major industrial installations to small-industry and handicraft establishments and individual handicraftsmen to develop the production of consumer goods. In all activities of our national economy, we must attach great importance to exports and make tremendous efforts in this regard, so as to create at an early date main sources of export articles of high value. With efforts to be focused on developing agriculture and boosting the production of consumer and export goods, we should create jobs to the highest possible extent permitted by our capacity, utilize to the full labor forces, and expand the division of labor and reallocation of social labor forces.

We must continue to build the centrally run economy into the backbone of the national economy with a firm grip on key positions. At the same time, we must pay the greatest attention to the development of local economies, and bring into play their important action on agriculture and consumer goods production. We should actively form economic-technical branches to serve as pillars of the economy, while persevering in efforts to build district agricultural-industrial economic units, and provincial economies in the direction of gradually creating a provincial industrial-agricultural economic structure.

We must develop labor division and coordination relations both on a national and local scale, closely linking the central economy to the local ones in a unified national economic structure and eliminating the existing bottlenecks. It is necessary to clearly define the central economic structure as well as the economic structure for each locality. The decentralization of management between central organs and local administrative bodies is an issue that requires an urgent solution. In the present situation, we must expand to an appropriate extent the scope of the local economy with regard to production as well as distribution and circulation by according more authority, means and responsibility to the local administration. This will require the localities to carry out their activities more effectively.

We must, on the one hand, overcome the manifestations of bureaucratic centralism and, on the other, strengthen state discipline, and eliminate the phenomena of fragmentation and departmentalism in order to ensure unified central management.

Urban centers, especially large cities, play a very important role and must promote their ever-increasing impact on the economy, especially in industry, small industries and handicrafts. Central and local authorities are dutybound to help build the Hanoi capital into a political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural center worthy of representing the whole country. Ho Chi Minh City with its varied possibilities must become an important center for economic, cultural and foreign trade activities.

The provinces in the Mekong River Delta and the Red River Delta--with very great and diverse capabilities--are key regions of food and agricultural production for the country. The central and local services concerned must do their best to help these provinces develop their great capabilities to the highest degree. The midland and mountain provinces in the north possess a strategic position of great importance in economy and national defense. They have very great economic strongpoints and are the sites of many important industrial centers. The provinces in the Central Highlands also possess a strategic position of great importance with respect to the economy and national defense, and rich potentials in grain and especially in various types of subsidiary food crops, livestock breeding, perennial industrial crops, forests with many types of precious timber, and some valuable mineral resources.

The central government, all services and other localities must actively help these provinces in their endeavor to overcome the immediate difficulties concerning grain, labor, communications and irrigation so as to develop the economy, improve the material and cultural living standards of the people of various nationalities and make an active contribution to the building and defense of the fatherland.

The coastal provinces of central Vietnam have economic strongpoints in many respects. The provinces of eastern Nam Bo have all-round agricultural capabilities and many important industrial installations. These localities must strive to develop the production of grain, food and consumer goods. Each province should correctly assess and satisfactorily demonstrate its own strongpoints so as to provide more raw materials to industry and increase exports.

We must devise programs and plans for gradually bringing into play the diverse and valuable potentials of all of these regions.

While our national economy still comprises several components, it is extremely important to expand the positions of the socialist economy and to enhance its dominant role. We must make every effort to consolidate and perfect the state-run and cooperative economic units, and to use the state-run economy in setting examples in labor productivity, quality of products, effectiveness in production and business, and in the implementation of set policies and the law.

We must encourage, guide and assist the family economy to ensure that it is truly an integral part of the socialist economy. We must make the joint public-private units in the south truly uphold their character as joint enterprises and operate with good results. Before as well as throughout the process of transformation, we must correctly employ and guide the individual and private economies while checking and overcoming the negative aspects of these economies. After completing the transformation of production relations, there will remain in a number of branches and trades suitable individual economic activities that support the socialist economy and are essential to the national economy. We must devise effective measures to direct these activities in service of production and circulation. It is necessary to use the state-run economy as the core, link the various different economic components together in various suitable forms, and develop all the components of the economy along the socialist line.

To overcome immediate difficulties and take the economy forward, we must try our best to bring into play the valuable assets and strong position of the economy itself and of our people and our country, while securing and making the best use of the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and expand our all-sided cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, considering this assistance and all-round cooperation to be a fundamental factor having the character of a law to carry out socialist industrialization in our country. With regard to other countries, we should strive to develop trade relations and economic, scientific and technological cooperation on the principle of ensuring independence, sovereignty and mutual benefit.

To achieve these targets and orientations, the 5-year 1981-85 plan is a plan for a further development, restructuring and promotion of socialist transformation of the national economy. These three aspects should be closely associated with each other in order to stabilize the economic and social situation in the main, meet the most pressing and essential needs of the people's material and cultural life, reduce the most serious imbalances in the economy, overcome to an important extent the abnormalities in distribution and circulation and create more prerequisites and conditions for a vigorous and steady advance in the years to come.

In all economic activities, we must constantly pay special attention to an increase in productivity, reduction in material consumption and production costs, and improvement of quality and efficiency.

In addition, we must strive to bring into play three factors: the renewal of management; the application of science and technology; and strictly practicing thrift and opposing waste.

A feature of pressing significance and special importance is the need for urgently achieving a good rearrangement of the economy in accordance with the following orientations: We must readjust and improve the structure of production, building, labor, distribution, circulation and consumption, better meet the pressing needs in keeping with the practical possibilities in the forthcoming years, especially with regard to energy, raw materials, communications and transport, and also with the long-term forward direction, thereby promoting a stable and highly effective development of the economy in the right direction.

In rearranging the production facilities, we must as a matter of priority afford material conditions to boost the production of articles serving the people's life, the needs of export and of national defense consolidation. In this spirit, some establishments are to be given additional equipment and machinery and supplied with more energy and materials, while others will have to readjust their production or gear it to another direction.

We must reorganize the production and business network of all branches and trades from the central to local and grassroots levels, and create a production structure composed of well-fitted parts showing dynamism and a position to forge ahead. In rearranging capital construction, we must review the structure of

investments, the scale and tempo of capital construction, and do away with dispersion and uniform distribution, lack of an overall plan and low economic effectiveness in making investments.

We definitely must not invest further in the construction of new projects if the capacity of the existing facilities of the same type has not yet been fully tapped; and must resolutely suspend and postpone construction work on projects that we do not have the conditions to use and that will not be able to operate due to an inadequate supply of energy and raw material. While doing this, it is necessary to readjust the forces of labor and construction equipment.

In rearranging the work force we should broaden the division and reallocation of labor within each establishment, locality, branch, and in the country as a whole, between different regions, and between the cities and the countryside so as to make the best use of the land, forest, sea and the existing material and technical facilities. Administrative staffs must be resolutely reduced. Great importance is to be attached to reducing the rate of population growth. The scale and orientation for the training of cadres and workers should be re-defined in conformity with the requirements and capacity of the economy in the immediate future and subsequent years; the contingent of trained cadres and workers should be rationally rearranged and used.

In rearranging distribution and circulation, a socialist order must be established on this complex front by promptly organizing and expanding the socialist market, limiting and closely controlling the unorganized market, resolutely applying the principle of distribution according to labor, implementing the system of profit-and-loss accounting, and achieving a fair readjustment of the income of various strata of the population. The role of distribution and circulation should be promoted as a lever for the development of and as a bridge between agriculture and industry and between the cities and the countryside to enhance production and serve the consumer's needs.

In readjusting social consumption, thrift must be strictly practiced in investments and production expenses, in cultural and social spending and in defense and administrative expenditures. Thrift must be concretized into annual targets which must be achieved by all means.

All of society--as well as each sector, locality, establishment and individual--must thoroughly apply the principle that one must only consume within the limits of one's production, live by the fruits of one's labor, and strive for greater accumulation.

Comrade delegates, the following are the main orientations, tasks and targets of the important sectors and fields:

## 1. The Front of Agriculture, Forestry and Maritime Products

Concentrating our efforts on developing agriculture and taking it one step further to socialist large-scale production is a strategic policy of our party designed to exert a tremendous effect in the economic, political, cultural and social fields. To carry out this strategic policy, in the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 we must make every effort to satisfactorily perform the following main tasks:

**Agriculture:** Grain and foodstuffs are the most pressing and a very basic problem which we must resolve so as to stabilize and improve the people's living conditions, to develop the economy and to consolidate national defense.

In the immediate future, we must strive to meet at all costs the need of all society for grain and to place a necessary amount of grain under the state control by all means. In the 1981-85 period, an effort must be made to achieve an average annual grain output of 17 million tons in paddy equivalent--an increase of 3.6 million tons compared to the average annual output in the 1976-80 period--and to collect an average 3.5 million tons of this amount annually for the state. To fulfill this target of paramount importance, we should devise plans to resolve all the problems of production, collection, transportation, storage, processing and consumption in a well-coordinated manner. All necessary conditions must be prepared so as to achieve by 1985 a grain output of about 19-20 million including 16-16.5 million tons of paddy and 3-3.5 tons of subsidiary food crops in paddy equivalent.

With the exception of the major cities, concentrated industrial zones, areas specializing in planting industrial crops, concentrated forested areas and areas facing special situations, all localities must bring into play their strengths and make the greatest possible effort to resolve the grain and foodstuff problem on the spot. They must strive to meet their own needs for grain and foodstuffs by adopting a production and consumption system suitable for the specific conditions of each locality and by applying active measures, including exchanges with other localities, imports and exports. They must also strive to make increasing contributions to the entire country.

Every effort must be made to develop the production of both rice and subsidiary food crops. Concerning rice, along with opening new land to expand the cultivated area, the main direction is for us to promote intensive cultivation, increase the number of crops per year, and establish high-yield rice areas capable of producing large amounts of marketable products.

With regard to subsidiary food crops, we should vigorously develop the cultivation of corn, potatoes, cassava and other starch-bearing crops. Correct subsidiary food crop cultivation patterns should be defined for each province and district. We should make the best use of land to grow subsidiary food crops, including the land exclusively devoted to subsidiary food crop cultivation and the land on which only one rice crop is planted annually. We should grow a

winter subsidiary food crop on land devoted to planting two rice crops per year, and plant a companion subsidiary food crop on land under industrial crops. Subsidiary food crops must be planted in a concentrated or a scattered manner everywhere.

Importance should be attached to increasing the yields of subsidiary food crops. The ratio of these crops in the volume of grain production should be increased to 18-20 percent. Special attention should be given to satisfactorily organizing the processing, transportation and storing of subsidiary food crops and encouraging their consumption. These crops should be made a staple food to improve the people's diet gradually according to the productive characteristics of each area.

Series of uniform measures should be applied to ensure that grain production and collection targets are fulfilled. The existing water conservancy projects should be perfected; efforts should be concentrated mainly on building new medium- and small-scale new projects, and conditions should be prepared for building large-scale projects. Especially, water conservancy work must be rationally, effectively and practically developed in the Mekong River Delta, and the waterlogged area in the Bac Bo Delta must be actively reduced.

The rice and subsidiary crop varieties production system should be promptly perfected to ensure sufficient and timely supplies and wide distribution of new high-yielding strains resistant to harmful insects and diseases, drought, waterlogging, acidity and salinity. Shortages of crop varieties, supplies of wrong varieties, and the use of varieties unsuitable for the soil conditions and planting seasons should be quickly ended.

An effort should be made to ensure supplies of fertilizers and insecticides, concentrating the bulk of them first of all for those areas where conditions exist for the application of advanced intensive cultivation techniques and those areas where the state plans to collect large amounts of grain. Aside from the fertilizers and insecticides produced domestically and imported from the socialist countries, efforts should be made to export a number of agricultural products to import more nitrate fertilizer and insecticides. At the same time, the production of stable and green manures should be vigorously increased. Crop rotation and companion cropping should be applied in the cultivation of leguminous plants to enrich and improve the soil. Intensive cultivation procedures for each area should be formulated and applied; scientific and technological progress should be introduced into production.



Policies should be promulgated providing incentives for grain production, for the production, processing and consumption of subsidiary food crops, and for developing the production of organic and chemical fertilizers.

Tax and collection policies should be improved and stabilized; prices should be rationally set. Means of production, consumer goods and construction materials should be set aside to exchange for agricultural products. The peasantry should be encouraged to discharge satisfactorily the obligation to pay taxes and sell grain to the state so as to ensure that most of the marketable grain is placed under state control, to curb the free market, to combat the speculation and hoarding of grain, and to eventually ensure state control of the social grain market.

Warehouse systems should be built and processing, packaging, measuring and transportation facilities increased to ensure the expeditious and efficient collection, transportation and storing of grain, and to prevent damage and losses.

More labor should be invested and mechanization appropriately and selectively carried out to promote intensive cultivation, multicropping and land reclamation. In the 1981-85 period, the 300,000 hectares of new land already opened should be developed and a few hundred thousand more hectares should be reclaimed. In addition, the people should be motivated and organized to open even more new land.

Experiences of building new economic zones should be reviewed; correct measures and steps should be taken to implement the policy that the state and people should work together; and high efficiency should be achieved with less capital investments.

We should strive to build up grain reserves so as to maintain the initiative in any eventuality; saving grain should become the state discipline.

Attention should be given to developing the cultivation of food crops; ensuring sufficient supplies of various kinds of green vegetables and beans; building areas specializing in producing greens and beans for export; and building food belts around cities and industrial zones. The production of soybeans should be developed vigorously to increase the sources of protein for people, domestic animals and land and to become an increasingly important key export item. A policy providing incentives for developing soybean planting should be adopted. The problems of varieties, fertilizers and insecticides should be resolved satisfactorily; technological progress, companion cropping, crop rotation, multicropping and land should be fully exploited to widely grow soybeans. A number of areas should be built for the exclusive and intensive cultivation of high-yielding soybeans. An effort should be made to increase the volume of soybean production to at least 250,000-300,000 tons by 1985.

The cultivation of beans, such as green beans and *vigna cylindrica*, should be developed in suitable areas. The areas of oil-bearing plants such as peanuts, sesame, coconuts, sasanqua, palms, and so forth should be established quickly to provide more food for the people and to increase the sources of raw materials for industry and goods for export.

We must expand the industrial and fruit crop areas, promoting concentrated and specialized cultivation, while motivating the people to make full use of land to plant widely short-term and quick-yield crops. We must vigorously develop sugarcane cultivation and set up large-scale specialized sugarcane cultivation areas in order to provide sufficient supplies to various sugar refineries, both those in existence and those under construction. We must expand sugarcane cultivation in various districts and villages and build more sugar processing facilities with the use of manual and partially-mechanized methods. We must quickly increase the tobacco cultivation areas in order to meet requirements for consumption and export. We must promote widespread planting of fruit trees with emphasis on planting pineapple, banana and orange trees. We must promote the planting of coconut trees, especially in the coastal areas of central and southern Vietnam. We must increase planting, exploiting and processing various kinds of medicinal, oleaginous, castor oil and spice plants. We must reserve some lands in those areas where there are appropriate climates for planting cotton and must increase planting of jute, hemp, flax, okra, cotton and wild pineapple. In particular, we must more broadly develop the movement to grow mulberry for silkworm raising in order to contribute to resolving the clothing problem. By developing the planting of rush we will be able to ensure the manufacture of enough mats for domestic use and export.

We must take good care of the existing areas of long-term industrial crops and completely harvest them while planting anew more rubber and coffee mainly in the eastern Nam Bo and Central Highlands, and in the Bac Bo midlands and mountainous regions and the Central Highlands in order to increase the source of exports. We should strive to have 150,000-160,000 hectares of rubber, 30,000-40,000 hectares of coffee and 60,000-70,000 hectares of tea by 1985.

Along with expanding cultivation, we should also actively develop the raising of livestock and poultry in order to increase the source of food products and to get more manure for crops. Special attention should be paid to the raising of horned animals and those which consume little grain. We should establish plans to balance cultivation with animal raising for each cooperative, each district and each province in order to meet the local demands and ever increase the delivery of such products to the state. A rational proportion of land suitable to the patterns of cultivation and animal raising should be reserved in each locality to grow fodder plants for livestock and poultry. Sufficient feed should be supplied to the pig- and chicken-raising installations along the food belts around cities and industrial complexes. The system of breeding cattle, pigs and chicken should be consolidated and developed. Veterinary work should be implemented well to prevent and control diseases and epidemics for livestock and poultry. Technical innovations should be applied to increase the productivity of animal raising. We should combine and develop well the three forms of animal raising in cooperatives, state-owned installations and families, while extensively encouraging the families of cooperative members to develop their animal raising. All the state agencies, troops, workers and civil servants in those localities in which conditions for this are favorable should also develop animal raising in order to improve their living conditions.

The state should institute the policies and plans to provide breeds, medicine and guidance for families to develop animal raising. Pig raising should be

developed vigorously in those localities where there are abundant crops while special attention should be paid to the raising of cattle and buffalo in order to resolve the problems of draft force, fertilizer, meat and milk. The raising of chicken, ducks, goats, rabbits and bees should be developed also.

We should strive to reach approximately 13 million pigs, 4.7-5 million cattle and buffalo and 100 million poultry by 1985.

Forestry: Forestry plans should be formulated promptly in the direction of combining forestry with agriculture and industry, generally using resources and building socialism in the mountainous provinces and districts.

We should redistribute the work force throughout the country, increase our investment in forestry and apply technical measures in order to gradually build and rationally use the 15 million hectares of forest land, considering the method of combining agricultural and forestry business as an important direction in which to develop forestry. We should associate the tasks of planting and protecting forests with the exploiting and processing of timber and other forest products; accelerate vigorously grain production and animal raising; resolutely apply effective measures to protect and restore forests by necessarily and definitively stopping forest destruction and fires and by building and developing forest assets.

First of all, we should manage well the existing natural and planted forests and accelerate vigorously the tree-planting and afforestation movement in the direction of specialized and intensive cultivation and, in this way, meet ever better the requirements of domestic use and export for timber, firelogs and other special forest products, and ensure environmental protection and contribute to maintaining the ecological balance throughout the country and in each locality.

Step by step we will create areas of highly concentrated and productive forests to support industry. We should link the settlement of nomads closely with the building of forest assets and the development of forestry and agriculture in the mountainous regions.

In the 5 years from 1981 to 1985, we should administer, exploit and maintain well the existing forests, plant approximately 300,000 hectares of new forests; and broadly develop the people's tree-planting movement. We should issue various policies to stimulate the planting of trees and afforestation and the protection of forests, and to mobilize all strata of the laboring people--peasants, workers, students, cadres and troops--to afforest land, quickly returning greenery to bare hills and fertility to depleted soil. In the coastal areas, attention should be paid to growing windshield and antierosion plants. In the mountainous regions, we should intensively protect and plant headwaters trees. Measures to restore and protect forests must be emphasized. We should plant new trees used in producing paper pulp, yarn, construction timber and mining shafts, and for shipbuilding and export. The planting of exports for firelogs and charcoal must be organized to resolve local problems of fuel for the processing industry, the preliminary processing of agricultural products and residential quarters.

The exploitation of timber for domestic use and export must be increased. The rate of using wood must be increased by making full use of twigs and branches locally. In 5 years, we should exploit about 8 million cubic meters of timber. Measures should be adopted to settle uniformly the tasks of felling, transporting, processing and preserving timber in order to ensure its timely supply to fulfill all demands both quantitatively and qualitatively. We should actively grow, tend, protect and exploit all valuable forest products such as rose mallow, anis, cinnamon, bamboo, rattan and oleaginous and medicinal plants. Special attention should be paid to the planting of pine trees and the tapping of their sap.

Along with consolidating and developing the state forests, we must use districts as bases on which to develop forestry. The allocation of land and forests to co-operatives must be made in accordance with the state program and plan. In order to fulfill the aforementioned forestry tasks well, it is necessary to grasp firmly the motto of using forests as a means to nurse forests. The central and local governments, and the state and the people should work together in order to accumulate ever more assets for the state and to improve the people's livelihood.

Maritime products: We should reorganize and develop catching them and optimally use all water areas to develop the raising of fish and shrimp and other marine products, bringing the volume of sea fish and fish-raising production to approximately 700,000 tons by 1985 including 470,000-500,000 tons of sea fish. We should further increase the production volume of dry fish, processed fish and fish sauce. Investment should be concentrated in those areas abounding in sea fish to develop the manually operated and semimechanized fishing forces and to expand import and export businesses aimed at securing fuel, oil and fishing equipment for the mechanized fishing fleets.

We should rationally organize all chains of production, combine well all tasks of collecting, purchasing, transporting, preserving, processing and selling maritime products. Through investment in major projects and various incentive policies to stimulate production, we should strive to consolidate and develop all business establishments; restore and develop people's fishing forces; increase efficiency and productivity of fishing and processing operations; organize southern fishermen into cooperatives and other suitable units; use coastal districts as main areas in which to reorganize production; establish economic relations between the state and the fishermen; and exploit fishery, agriculture and industry combinations in sea zones. We should issue policies to help and encourage cooperatives and the people to make full use of rivers, ponds, lakes and ricefields to raise fish and shrimp, and organize fish raising installations to ensure a fresh fish supply to cities and industrial complexes.

All farms, forests, state agencies and army units stationed in favorable localities must organize fish-raising to improve their living conditions.

## 2. Consumer Goods Production

It is extremely important to step up consumer goods production to meet society's material and cultural needs. We must create many more jobs, increase sources of goods for local consumption and export, stimulate agricultural production, expand division of labor, increase social products and national income as contributions to the accumulation for our economy. This very pressing task can help stabilize the people's livelihood and can greatly contribute to achieving a money-goods balance and stabilizing markets and prices.

There must be policies and uniform measures to develop all available production potentials and the capabilities of light industries, foodstuffs industry and even the centrally run and local industries. We must strive to develop various branches and trades, small industries and artisan industry in cities and countryside; properly employ individual artisans; achieve cooperation among state-operated enterprises, cooperatives and individual workers to step up goods production and fully use production facilities of national defense enterprises to produce consumer goods. In particular, we must exploit the strengths of Hanoi, Haiphong, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh City in consumer goods production; quickly promulgate policies on investment, credit, supply of raw materials and discarded materials, product consumption and prices; increase technical equipment; insure material supplies; create more sources of local raw materials; expand trade businesses, exports and imports, and cooperation with other countries in production; achieve rational labor division and cooperation in production in every branch and locality and in the entire country; use economic levers to stimulate the intensification of consumer goods production, especially the broad development of small industries and artisan industry ranging from traditional occupations to new trades and occupations; properly exploit the available spinning and textile factories; complete the construction of new spinning factories in order to produce from 380 to 400 million meters of cloth in 1985; and increase the export of farm produce in order to import more cotton thread, spare parts, chemicals and dyestuffs for the textile sector.

We should increase production of sugar and honey of various kinds from 350,000 to 400,000 tons in 1985, make full use of the capacity of available sugar refineries, develop manual sugar mills, continue construction of the La Nga and Lam Son sugar refineries, and manufacture equipment for the construction of small and medium sugar refineries in various localities.

We should supply sufficient raw materials and fully develop the available capacity to produce more than 1 billion packs of cigarettes in 1985, reserve the greater part of cigarettes for export and improve the processing technique in order to increase the amount of export tobacco leaves.

We should supply sufficient raw materials for paper mills, encourage the production of hand-made paper in various localities in order to produce from 90,000 to 100,000 tons of paper of various types in 1985 and increase the production of cement bags.

We should intensify and expand salt production, especially in North Vietnam, to insure sufficient household and industrial salt.

We should increase the production of bicycles, especially accessories, tires and inner tubes; satisfy the people's need for soap, detergent powder and medication; develop and expand the production of goods and improve the quality of wooden works, pottery works, earthenware, chinaware, glassware, items made of rattan, bamboo, jute and rush, household utensils, school implements, medical and cultural equipment, and labor protective tools.

We must concentrate efforts to quantitatively and qualitatively improve export goods and produce goods manufactured with skill, especially chinaware, tailoring material, embroidery, knitwear, tapestry, fine arts articles, metallic objects and consumer goods.

### 3. Heavy Industry

We must reorganize, improve and upgrade available production establishments and create additional sources of energy and raw materials to make full use of these establishments' capacity. We must practically develop the very important effect of heavy industry on agriculture and consumer- and export-goods production sectors and continue to build a number of major establishments to meet the immediate needs and prepare for subsequent years. Meanwhile, we must strive to step up basic survey work, establish economic and technical projects and designs, carry out planning work and train technical and management cadres and workers. We must gradually strengthen the economy's infrastructure make active preparations for a more vigorous and broader development of heavy industry in subsequent plans.

We should always remember that the central task for the transitional period is to carry out socialist industrialization and that the material-technical base of socialism is large-scale mechanized industry. The decisive factor for achieving high labor productivity is the new technical equipment, not only for agriculture but for other sectors of our national economy.

We should consider agriculture the first front and must step up consumer goods production to meet present urgent needs of everyday life. To create accumulation in our economy is to contribute to achieving socialist industrialization in one step and to strengthen the foundations for the present and future development of various heavy industries.

**Electricity:** We must formulate a general project for developing power production countrywide for a 15- to 20-year period and map out specific plans for implementing that project in the direction of coordinating the production of hydroelectric power and thermoelectric power and accelerating the production of thermoelectric power with large-, medium- and small-scale projects for the 1981-85 period. We must ensure a balance between development of power production and the power transmission network and projects supporting the electricity sector and between the power-generating source and power-consuming installations in order to best tap the energy potential. We must strive to produce from 5.5 to 6 billion kWh in 1985, fully develop the production capacity of the existing hydroelectric and thermoelectric powerplants, rationally use the power produced by diesel-operated generators, and drastically reduce electricity and waste and loss, self-consuming power and fuel used in production. We must urgently build the Pha Lai thermoelectric plant and synchronized projects, put the first group of generators into power production in early 1983, complete the installation of three groups of generators in 1985, and ensure the proper construction rate of the Hoa Binh hydroelectric powerplant at an early date. We must seek by all means to provide more power to the southern provinces, make urgent preparations for an early construction of the Tri An hydroelectric powerplant, and build medium- and small-scale hydroelectric projects in central Vietnam, the Central Highlands, and Northern mountain provinces. We must fully use the available gas for power education, step up studies and the tapping of other power sources, and strictly economize on electric power in production and the people's lives. Priority in power distribution must be accorded to the main production targets and key installations.

Coal: We must strive to increase the 1985 coal production to 8 to 9 million tons, and, in addition, produce approximately 5 million tons as overlap production for the 1986-90 plan. We must rapidly increase the production of coal and enhance its quality at the Ha Tu Deo Nai, Vang Danh, and Mao Khe coal mines and at subsidiary coal mines. We must continue construction and expansion at the Cao Son Na Duong, Nui Beo Nui Hong and Nong Son coal mines; complete construction work at the Mong Duong, Khe Cham, Ha Lam Dang and Throng Nhat Coal mines; complete the renovation work at the Phan Me bituminous coal mines; accelerate construction work at the Lang Cam Bituminous coal mine; and maximally exploit coal at the anthracite, bituminous and peat mines in various localities.

We must improve organizational and managerial work in the coal sector, step up geological work, increase efficiency in the use of vehicles and machines, accelerate equipment repairs and supplies of spare parts, synchronize exploitation, transportation and cargo-handling work, and expand transportation by conveyor belts [bawngf bawng] and other means.

We must improve working conditions and the people's livelihood and adopt policies to promote labor enthusiasm and enhance coal miners' productivity. We must effectively manage transportation and distribution work, raise the effectiveness of coal consumption, strictly apply the coal-saving policy, gather coal pieces of all types scattered in coal-mining areas, recover and put to best use the cinder gathered at the powerplants and satisfactorily resolve the problem of using processed coal as a replacement for kerosene in cooking.

Oil and gas: Oil and gas is an economic and technical sector which is having an increasingly important impact on the overall development of our national economy. For the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on satisfactorily carrying out our cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to accelerate oil and gas surveys and then proceed to oil and gas exploitation in southern Vietnam's continental shelf. We must strive to produce crude oil during the current 5-year plan. We must establish logistics installations and oil and gas services in Vung Tau and push ahead the gas survey in the Bac Bo Delta.

Machinery: We must plan and rearrange the operations of the machine industry in the direction of specialization and cooperativeness countrywide. We must pay attention to making in-depth investments, raising the capacity of existing facilities and building new projects. We must strive to raise the quality of products, reduce waste in the use of material supplies and energy and, through combined business transactions, import, export and secure more raw materials for machine industry production in order to fully use production capacity.

During the 1981-85 period, we must mainly ensure adequate repairs for equipment and machines and sufficient production of spare parts for various sectors, especially for agriculture, the industry for production of consumer goods, and the coal, electricity, communications, transportation, and construction materials sectors. We must produce sufficient ordinary tools, improved tools, and medium- and small-sized equipment and machines for agriculture, barges, railroad cars, mining equipment, electric motors, equipment for small hydroelectric projects, and equipment for the production of sugar, paper, and the

processing of secondary crop products. We must raise the quality of products in order to increase the export of a number of engineering products such as bicycles, machine tools, electric fans, tool kits and so forth.

We must attach importance to developing the electronic industry in accordance with our country's situation and progress. We must fully tap our existing assembly and production capacity and build additional assembly and chain production installations in order to better meet our economic requirements in electronic products for export. We must complete construction of the Go Dam diesel engine factory for production of diesel engines, the Ha Long and Pha Rung shipbuilding and repairs works, and the Gia Law railroad factory. We must enlarge the Cam Pha machine industry factory and the Dong Anh electric equipment repair works and begin construction of the automobile spare parts factory with an annual production capacity of 6,000 tons and so forth. We must make intensive preparations for building a number of heavy industry projects for the next plan.

**Metallurgy:** We must mobilize the total steel refining and lamination capacity available in Thai Nguyen and the south, fill the need for bituminous coal and electrodes and gather scrap iron to increase production of laminated steel twofold in 1985 compared with 1981. We will expand the experimental application of the direct recycling method [phuowong phaps hoanf nguyeen trucj tieeps] in metallurgy, study alloyed steel production, actively continue preparations for building large-scale steel-refining projects in subsequent plans, build and perfect the Tinh Tuc and Son Duong tin mines, begin construction of the Quy Hop joint tin enterprise, complete construction of lead and zinc production plants and expand chromite ore exploitation. Along with building plants, we should organize production of tin, lead, zinc and chromite by semi-mechanized and manual methods. We must cooperate with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member countries in studying bauxite exploitation. We must develop the exploitation of precious metals and stones.

**Fertilizers and chemicals:** We should step up production of nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers and insecticides to serve agriculture, exploit and use local raw materials, organize medium- and small-scale production of essential chemicals which must replace imported chemicals in time, restore and expand the Lao Cai apatite mine, make preparations for building an apatite enrichment factory, expand the Lam Thao superphosphate factory, exploit and import more pyritic ore, develop the production of roasted phosphate fertilizer in order to increase the production of phosphate fertilizers of various types from 350,000 to 400,000 tons in 1985, exploit the potential of the Ha Bac nitrogenous fertilizer plant, prepare to build a new nitrogenous fertilizer plant in the subsequent plan and increase production of tires and tubes for autos and bicycles, technical rubber products, insecticides, paint, acetylene, baking soda sulfates and light powder [bootj nhej].

**Building materials:** We should complete construction of the Bim Son, Hoang Thach and Ha Tien cement factories; consolidate the Haiphong cement factory; reorganize the minor cement production installations; provide sufficient electricity, coal, gypsum, paper bags and fuel for factories; boost cement production in 1985 at least up to 2 million tons; concentrate on producing bricks, tiles, iron sheets, and ceramic and porcelain materials and heat-resistant



materials; expand production of commonly used materials with local raw materials, especially unbaked materials, and step up production of export goods and materials.

Geological survey: We will selectively push forward geological survey work; pay special attention to geological work which directly serves the intensified exploitation of various resources right in the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan period; and, at the same time, continue the survey of various resources in the country; pay attention to protecting for new mines of high-value minerals such as tin, wolfram and molybdenite; make intensive efforts to discover and exploit bituminous coal, pyrites and manganese; and survey small peat and phosphate mines, building materials and undercurrent water in the service to local industries.

#### 4. Communications and Transportation, Postal Communications

We must urgently readjust and reorganize the forces in these sectors and increase their managerial capacity, productivity and efficiency along with providing more material means to overcome, in one step, weaknesses and the serious imbalance between communications and transportation and the requirements for economic development and consolidation of national defense. Domestic freight will increase on the average from 10 to 12 percent annually, while there will be a 3-fold increase in export freight and freight transported between the north and south. We must work out a plan for rationally developing a communications and transportation network throughout the country; give priority to developing sea and river transport services; consolidate and develop railroad transport capacity; reorganize auto transport services in accordance with the capacity of gasoline, oil, spare parts, tires and tubes; continue building the civil aviation sector; widely develop rudimentary transport means; develop communications and transportation in rural areas, and especially in mountainous areas, while developing agriculture and forestry and consolidating national defense.

We must concentrate on building a network of sea and river ports and dredging river beds; complete the improvement of the Haiphong harbor area; build Cua Lo harbor; reinforce the harbors in central and southern Vietnam; consolidate and increase the capacity of the available railroad network, especially the north-south railway; build a number of railways leading to industrial centers; develop a number of main highways and land communications centers; promptly repair and increase transport means, especially barges, river boats, sea-going vessels, locomotives and coaches; intensify unloading work; shorten the turn-around time for vehicles; increase speed; insure safety; rapidly unload goods at harbors, railroad stations, piers and railway terminals; concentrate efforts on unloading the import cargo; insure export goods loading and north-south transport service; give priority to coal and grain transport and to transport service for agriculture, construction sites, major enterprises, border areas and Laos and Kampuchea, the two fraternal countries, and assign adequate duties and powers to various sectors and between the central level and localities.

Regarding economic planning, we must insure rational transport service and carefully calculate transport capabilities. We must consolidate, improve and

exploit the potentials of available communication networks, build more material-technical bases, improve and increase the capacity of the postal communications sector and closely coordinate the national communications network with the communications network for special use of various sectors in order to properly serve economy and national defense.

## 5. Capital Construction

Our material and capital potential is limited when priority must be given to meeting the urgent needs of life and export. We must therefore rationally employ investment for capital construction and correctly and effectively use the invested capital. To this end, we must concentrate our capital on key projects and sectors and on the most important products. We must avoid the situation of dispersion and equal distribution in construction; make uniform investments with a view toward developing, first of all, the available production capabilities; pay great attention to making investment in depth and correctly coordinating intensive with extensive investment; actively carry out the precept: The state and the people work together, the central level and localities work together. We must consolidate and improve professional knowledge of the construction and assembly forces; rationally organize specialized construction forces and rearrange capital construction projects in order to reorganize the labor force and increase effectiveness and quality in construction.

The total capital invested by the state in capital construction for 5 years, 1981-85, is estimated at approximately 16 to 18 billion dong according to the old monetary value. In addition, all sectors and localities must mobilize their own capital and the capital of cooperatives and the people to improve and expand the production establishments and social welfare, cultural, educational and public health facilities. We must reexamine every project, discard unnecessary projects such as administrative facilities and conference halls, change a number of designs and materials, make full use of existing establishments for installing equipment and build new projects only when necessary. We must strictly practice economy to reduce capital for construction and assembly by 10 to 15 percent. We must accelerate construction of key projects of the agricultural, coal, electricity, oil and gas, machinery, paper, spinning, sugar, communications, transportation and export sectors. We must actively prepare to build major projects for the metallurgic, mechanical, chemical and building materials branches in subsequent plans; step up the improvement of the system of managing capital construction according to the method of general contract for construction and installation, ensure adherence to technical pattern and projects quality.

## 6. Labor and Population

We must urgently study and promulgate a labor code; resolve the employment problem for social laborers by distributing local manpower to the agricultural sector, developing trades and occupations, especially small industries and artisan industry in the countryside, cities and towns; exploiting forestry and fishery and developing services in the cities. Each province and district must have a plan for manpower arrangement and concentrate on solving the

employment problem for demobilized servicemen and graduates, especially students in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Haiphong, Da Nang and other cities and towns. The Mekong Delta provinces should have plans and measures to step up intensive cultivation, increase crops, expand the cultivated acreage and develop trades and occupations in order to increase manpower utilization. We must organize the sending of 1 million people, including laborers and dependents, to build new economic zones in their own localities or in other areas and from the north to the south. The people may volunteer to develop the cultivated acreage of grain and industrial crops with state assistance or the state may make investments and send people to build major areas of specialized cultivation. We must properly solve problems of policy and organization to create a revolutionary mass movement to reclaim land and build new economic zones according to well-elaborated plans and correct technical projects which will bring successful results. The nonagricultural labor force and population is presently heavily engaged in industrial production is presently very large and must be partly transferred to agriculture and forestry. We must adopt policies and measures to encourage, motivate, organize and assist the people in the cities and towns, including those on the state staff.

We must develop trades, occupations, small industries, artisan industry, services and agricultural production; transfer more technical cadres and economic management cadres to districts and agricultural cooperatives; simplify the administrative apparatus; resolutely reduce the state staff; change the labor structure; qualitatively improve state machinery; recruit only trained personnel; step up educational work; resolutely apply a number of administrative and economic measures and create favorable conditions for the people to carry out the birth control plan, to reduce the nationwide average annual birth rate from 2.4 to 1.7 percent in 1985.

## 7. Distribution and Circulation Front

It is necessary to establish a socialist new order on the distribution and circulation front soon in order to contribute to stabilizing life, step up production and improve the economic and social situation. The state must control goods and money, rationally distribute national revenues, adjust irrational and illegitimate revenues, strengthen market management and oppose illegal speculations and business transactions. To this end, it is necessary to carry out the following policies and major measures: To increase and consolidate state finance; urgently adopt a national financial policy which is practical and suited to the present situation; strongly mobilize all sources of capital for the state, including goods in nature and finance; yield all interests and taxes to the state; and ensure adequate collection of agricultural, commercial and industrial taxes. All sectors and units must understand that financial mobilization is extremely important for the state.

We must first expand international cooperation with socialist countries, strive to properly exploit and rationally use all foreign capital resources to supplement our domestic capital resources; closely manage and effectively use all capital resources; strictly practice thrift in all spheres, observe the watchword: Turn out much more and better wealth with the same or a smaller amount of capital resources; markedly cut administrative expenditures and correctly implement the state's general regulations on expenditures.

Distribution of materials, manpower and capital in the production section must be highly efficient while distribution of consumer goods must be based on the amount and quality of work performed. Any budget deficit, especially deficits related to consumption, must be minimized. Improvement and expansion of banking credit operations must be linked to expansion of noncash payment in the economy.

We must ameliorate the distribution of capital invested in capital construction through banks; step up capital mobilization and management as well as savings mobilization; strengthen monetary management; make money rapidly circulate through banks; apply positive measures to gradually reduce cash overexpenditures on the basis of balanced budgets and balanced credits; ensure economic effectiveness of borrowed capital and provide borrowed capital and ready money for rational, essential needs in production and life. State control and inventory regarding production and social product distribution must be intensified through financial, credit and payment operations.

Livelihood is a very important problem. Our primary concern is to provide jobs for all laborers in society and to insure full labor output. This is the basis for increasing income, improving living conditions and enabling each person to earn an income commensurate with his or her work.

We must properly organize distribution of goods sold at stable prices, including staple goods and necessities for food, clothing, housing, travel, learning and medical treatment. Supply of grain and foodstuffs to major cities and industrial centers must be improved. An adequate amount of industrial goods must be reserved for rural and border areas and the high region.

Efforts must be made to improve the livelihood of workers, civil servants, scientific and technical cadres, teachers and medical cadres. The real value of wages must be maintained. The supply of fixed amounts of goods must be insured. The scope of piecework and contractual wages must be widened according to set progressive norms. We must continue to improve wages and urgently study plans and create conditions for improving the wage system.

Prices are a very complex problem. The party and state policy regarding readjustment of purchase prices, bulk sale prices, retail prices and service charges is essential and correct. As far as implementation of this policy is concerned, shortcomings exist and errors have been made in setting some prices; announcements and application of new price scales have not been prepared in advance; there has been no coordination of financial, pricing and trading plans and some sectors and localities have arbitrarily implemented the pricing policy. At present, it is urgently required to continue implementing the central level's policy regarding price readjustment, to overcome past shortcomings and errors and to immediately readjust irrational prices of some goods which affect production and the people's livelihood. We must strive to gradually stabilize prices by developing production and overcoming imbalances regarding production, finance, money and foreign currencies. Special attention must be paid to management of cost prices and circulation costs. Lowering cost prices and circulation costs will greatly help create a basis for setting rational prices, stabilizing prices and increasing socialist accumulation.

while positively contributing to achieving a balance in state finances. We must step up the study and preparation of conditions for reforming the pricing system as well as the wage system by taking proper steps to readjust prices. Prices must always be closely linked to financial, monetary and commercial plans and market management. The main point is to strengthen price management according to plan. We must uphold state discipline regarding prices, put an end to the situation that permits arbitrary price hikes and the application of free market prices, urgently promulgate regulations on price management and achieve strict unified price management.

Trade must help concentrate in the state's hands the sources of materials and goods, including agricultural, forestry and marine products and industrial, domestic and import goods. We must closely manage and equitably distribute goods to meet the interests of the state, collectives and laborers. State-operated trade and marketing cooperatives must be consolidated so they can assume their guiding role in the market. State-owned production establishments and installations having economic relations with the state must earnestly carry out their obligation of delivering products to the state. The contingent of trade cadres must vigorously advance to learn the trade business and vividly apply socialist trade methods in order to control the market. Goods must be distributed to the right customers. We must resolutely oppose corruption, waste and negative practices in trade; improve material supply while consistently improving management and planning; achieve uniform and prompt supply of materials for production; give priority to implementing important tasks; insure effective use of materials; encourage material economization; consolidate and expand the socialist trade field; control wholesale and retail trade; basically control the social market; restrict and strictly control unorganized markets; strictly eradicate hoarding, smuggling and theft of state materials and goods; and properly organize and carry out the tasks of customs and tax offices in order to fight smuggling of goods across the border.

Regarding market management, it is necessary to properly coordinate economic, administrative and educational measures and all sectors and echelons, especially those sectors directly connected with market management such as the trading, financial, public security and customs sectors, under the guidance of party committee echelons and administrative echelons. This is one aspect of the fierce revolutionary struggle in the economic, political and social spheres--a struggle that determines who wins over whom, a struggle in which we must come out victorious and must by one way or another establish socialist order in the field of distribution and circulation and in our economic and social life.

#### 8. Economic Relations With Other Countries, Exports and Imports

Our tropical country is endowed with abundant natural resources, manpower and capabilities and has very favorable conditions for developing economic relations with other countries. We must, first of all, expand the overall cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and the CEMA-member nations in depth as well as in scope. We must try our best to obtain maximum valuable aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and must effectively utilize this aid. Meanwhile, we must satisfactorily implement our obligations on the principle of reciprocity and not in an arbitrary and subservient manner.

In this spirit and in accordance with actual conditions and capabilities, our country should actively participate in the process of international labor distribution, specialization and international cooperation within the framework of CEMA in the appropriate spheres.

The alliance of the three Indochinese countries is a special one of comrades and friends assisting each other in the effort of protecting and building socialism in each country.

We must develop, together with Laos and Kampuchea, a program and plan to expand economic cooperation and mutual assistance in many fields and must properly develop all potentials and create new supplementary ones for each country.

We must expand our political, economic and cultural relations with the non-aligned countries; develop Vietnam's position and impact on the Nonaligned Movement and in the struggle for a new world economic order; strive to establish relations with other countries; develop in many ways exchange services and cooperation activities; and foil all enemy economic sabotage maneuvers.

Export is a very strategically important task and a great obligation for every sector and echelon. We must endeavor to step up exports in order to ensure the importation of necessary equipment and materials for the normal operation of our national economy and for our socialist industrialization and to gradually achieve an import-export balance and a proper international balance of payments.

Along with boosting production and thriftily using consumer goods with a view to increasing our supply of export goods, we must further expand services, tourism and other businesses to increase our sources of foreign currency.

We must strive to double our exports in terms of value in the 5 years of 1981-85 compared with the 5 years of 1976-1980. Priority must be given to investment to increase our export capacity. We must struggle to build a main supply of export goods which will be economically effective and ensure a stable position on the world market. We must also pay attention to exporting agricultural, forest and marine products, minerals, machinery, consumer goods and so forth.

The various sectors and regions are dutybound to make the largest possible contribution to the national export plan, striving to increase exports so as to achieve a balance with their respective import requirements and help increase our state's exports in terms of value.

We must adopt policies that encourage the sectors and regions to step up production of export goods and participate in the export business on the basis of maintaining the principle of unified management of foreign trade and currency by the state. We must promptly perfect foreign trade organizations, resolve irregularities in managerial structure, planning and policies that impede export activities. We must be extremely strict in regard to imports. We must fully utilize the existing equipment in our country--machine tools, trucks, tractors--and must resolutely readjust surpluses and shortages. We must import only the most essential equipment and supplies that cannot be produced locally, and must use imported goods thriftily and efficiently while

efficiently while consistently considering our ability to pay for them. We must expand tourism, making it gradually become an important economic sector worthy of our country's potential in this field.

#### 9. Scientific and Technical Tasks

The Political Bureau's resolution on scientific and technical policy sets forth the main targets, tasks and orientations in scientific and technical development aimed at achieving immediate and long-term economic and social objectives. This resolution manifests the party's line on the scientific and technical revolution. The various echelons and sectors should thoroughly grasp and organize well the implementation of this resolution. The current urgent requirement is to efficiently implement key scientific and technical projects, paying particular attention to promptly applying scientific and technical progress in production and day-to-day life. Science and technology must be one of the primary factors in raising output, quality, conservation, efficiency and in pushing forward expanded reproduction. First of all, science and technology must support in the best manner the transformation of agriculture into large-scale socialist production within a rational agroindustrial structure. We must widely apply the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, paying special attention to those in biology, first of all in regard to seeds, aimed at promoting agriculture, forestry, fishery and the processing industry. At the same time, we must make science and technology support important industrial sectors such as the power, coal, oil and gas, engineering, metallurgical, chemical, communications and transportation sectors.

For the immediate future, we must actively study the main economic and technical projects and help in formulating the 5-year plan for 1981-85 aimed at resolving difficulties in energy, raw materials and spare parts. We must push forward scientific studies on organization and management and must selectively promote basic survey and forecasting activities in order to prepare a scientific base for analyzing and assessing resources, zoning, programming and formulating economic and social strategies.

We must closely combine natural sciences, applied sciences and social sciences, and develop the creative strength of the scientific and technical sectors by taking into account the superiority of socialism and our nation's fine traditions. We must step up the working people's movement of developing innovations, improving techniques and rationalizing production. We must develop to a high degree the positive spirit of and at the same time expand international cooperation in science and technology with other countries in the world, first of all with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. We must pay special attention to cooperation with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea.

We must develop and effectively exploit our existing and future scientific and technical potentials, set up and consolidate the system of research organizations and develop the system of education and training. We must strengthen the system of scientific and technical management agencies. We must make appropriate investments in and satisfactorily ensure the material-technical base for scientific and technical activities. We must adopt policies to foster, use and create working conditions aimed at developing the capabilities of the contingent of scientific and technical cadres. We must formulate well the

regulations governing distribution of labor and cooperation in studying, developing and applying scientific and technical progress and raise the effectiveness of scientific and technical activities in economic and social life. We must give utmost importance to economic, scientific and technical information activities.

We must strive to gradually build an advanced science and technology for the SRV with a structure compatible with the requirements of economic, cultural and social development and capable of resolving immediate requirements and long-term objectives of production, day-to-day life and national defense. We must anticipate and open up new directions for development to the economy and society and pay attention to developing scientific and technical sectors in coordination with our advantages in terms of natural resources, tropical conditions and population.

#### 10. Educational, Training, Cultural, Medical and Social Tasks:

We must carry out educational reforms intensively and steadily and in accordance with our economic capabilities. We must also pay attention to stepping up educational activities in the mountain region and the Cuu Long River Delta so as to gradually raise the level of these activities to the same level as in the other regions. We must consolidate and develop the education of young children and gradually spread basic general education, using various methods to provide education. We must have proper policies for building up and strengthening the teachers body and improving the educational management tasks. We must pay great attention to enhancing the overall quality of education and further linking education with scientific and technical studies and with production and the people's livelihood. We must accelerate the general technical education and job orientation education for general school students and pay attention to educating students in political, ideological and ethical matters. We must satisfactorily organize the schools' participation in productive labor; strive to develop the complementary education movement; firmly grasp the motto "The state and the people work together" in promoting education; and achieve a close coordination of activities among the school, the family and society in order to successfully carry out the educational reforms.

We must continue to train a balanced and homogenous contingent of skilled workers, scientific and technical cadres and economic management cadres to meet the revolutionary requirements for the present and future stages. We must rearrange the system of colleges, higher schools, and vocational middle schools; do well in coordinating training work and productive labor; determine a rational training scale; expand on-the-job training; and train cadres for the collective economic sector. We must continue to train graduated technical cadres of all echelons and, especially, train cadres from among college graduates and graduates from advanced studies schools. We must adopt proper measures for training workers and cadres of ethnic minorities and make a census of and reassign the existing body of technical cadres in order to use them more rationally and efficiently. We must rearrange the vocational schools and classes of the ministries, localities and installations; improve student enrollment work; enhance the quality and result of training; determine a workers training scope in line with the requirements for production development; and pay great



attention to training highly skilled technical workers. We must also strive to develop and enhance the quality of cultural, information, physical education and sports activities. Besides state investments, we must motivate the people, installations and mass organizations to make contributions and must use to the fullest the welfare funds of installations in order to promote the cultural, information, physical education and sports activities, especially the mass cultural movement and the physical training movement. We must pay attention to serving grassroots level units such as work sites, state farms, state forests and armed forces units, especially in border provinces and new economic zones.

We must intensively and continuously struggle to wipe out the enslaving, reactionary, backward and depraved cultures; resolutely eliminate outmoded customs, superstitions, and social evils; further care for the people's health; and build up Vietnamese medicine on the basis of combining modern and traditional medicine. We must satisfactorily perform sanitation, prophylactic treatment and environmental sanitation work; expand and raise the quality of public health and maternity work; care for the people's health through the use of state and public welfare funds; and motivate the people to make contributions.

We must tap the locally available pharmaceutical products to make common drugs and strive hard to overcome the lack of medicine. Every village and district must earmark land and work forces for the cultivation of medicinal plants. We must accelerate exports and cooperate with foreign countries in planting medicinal plants for them and endeavor to produce drugs for them in order to get chemical and pharmaceutical products and modern medicine in exchange.

We must make intensive preparations for producing antibiotics ourselves. We must improve our positions and policies and wholeheartedly care for and assist those families that performed meritorious services for the revolution, the brother and sister war invalids and the families of war dead. We must consolidate the war invalids care centers and rehabilitation centers in order to restore their labor capabilities and must expand the teaching of trades to them. We must satisfactorily organize the raising of orphans and assistance to the elderly, the weak and the infirm. The party and state should adequately care for the retirees and extend special love and respect to the elderly comrades.

The aforesaid major economic and social guidelines, tasks, and objectives are contained in the fifth party congress draft directive for guidance of the formulation of the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan. On the basis of the congress directive, all echelons, sectors and installations must work together intensively in order to complete the economic and technical projects, pay out concrete policies and measures, determine objectives and satisfactorily formulate and carry out the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan. According to the major guidelines, tasks and objectives mentioned in this report, it is estimated that during the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan there will be an average annual increase in agricultural production of about 6 to 7 percent; industrial production--4 to 5 percent; and national income in production--4.5 to 5 percent. By 1985, the total increase in grain production will be 32 percent over 1980; pork--30 percent; fish--

25 percent; sugar and honey of various types--111 percent; cloth and silk--119 percent; paper--87 percent; electricity--51 percent; coal--54 percent; cement--184 percent; chemical fertilizer--23 percent, and lumber--14 percent.

Thus, our economic and social situation is changing for the better, especially in stabilizing and further improving the people's livelihood. However, great economic imbalances still remain, though in lesser degrees. Proceeding from small-scale production after 30 years of fierce war, we must go through stages of arduous struggle; yet, we will gradually gear our national economic activities toward a trend of orderly socialist development and continue to advance in our surefire undertaking.

### Third Part

#### Renovate Economic Management, Launch Mass Movements, Effect Revolutionary Changes

Comrade delegates, renovating the managerial system and improving the operational efficiency of all echelons and launching a mass movement to bring about revolutionary changes are two kinds of decisive general measures for formulating and implementing state plans satisfactorily. At present, our country's economy is composed of many elements, many technical levels, many operational scales and many production and trade forms and is experiencing many serious imbalances.

To be suited to this economy, there must be a dynamic managerial system that can eliminate bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, sluggishness and the practice of indiscriminate subsidization, and implement the principle of democratic centralism correctly.

The new managerial system which we have to apply must broaden the independence [quyeenf chur dqoongj] of establishments, localities and sectors while simultaneously ensuring the control by the central echelon of things that need to be managed by it.

The new managerial system considers the state plan as a center, constantly heightens the state plan's role, attaches great importance to the various economic levers, applies the relations of markets, especially the organized market, and resolutely opposes the tendency to run after the free market.

The new managerial system encourages innovations and talents, requires a high sense of discipline and responsibility, overcomes negativism and establishes a socialist order.

In establishing a new managerial system, it is imperative to renovate planning work so as to make the state plan a second platform of the party and a central tool for the managerial system. Each planning echelon--from the central echelon to establishments--must truly master its own plan. This means that each planning echelon takes initiative in formulating, balancing, protecting and implementing its plan along the lines of the general national plan.

At the central echelon, the state plan controls major balances, main norms, key construction projects, important products and the major part of concentrated capital provided for in the budget and, on this basis, decides the main guidelines for development of the national economy.

At the establishment level, the plan reflects creativity and independence based on the principle of financial independence through achieving high social and economic efficiency, engaging in business enterprise with benefits, dividing profits and catering appropriately to the three kinds of interests.

Great attention must be paid to the plans of establishments as the quality of these plans has a decisive effect on the entire system of the state plans. We must intensively draw upon experience from both good and bad aspects of the system of end-product contracts to groups of workers and individual workers. We must gradually supplement the contract regulations so as to perfect the contract policy, making it a system of planning and comprehensive management for collective production units in agriculture, small industry and handicrafts.

With regard to state-run economic establishments, the state encourages these enterprises to fully use all of their capabilities, including the procurement of more raw materials and the use of materials in stock in order to formulate plans for producing larger quantities of principal goods than the norms assigned by the state. Moreover, they must fully use discarded materials and products to produce more secondary goods.

In carrying out policies concerning interests--such as wages, bonuses and norms for using part of the profits for the various funds of enterprises--we must hesitatingly promote the attainment of satisfactory results in the overfulfillment of plan norms. It is imperative, however, to increase incentive measures for enterprises in the fulfillment of the state plan.

In this spirit, we must quickly supplement, improve and perfect the existing regulations and set up an appropriate planning and managerial system for state-run economic establishments.

As for individually and privately-run economic establishments, the state will rely on economic policies and administrative measures in association with the control work of the masses to guide and direct the operation of these establishments according to the state plans.

Every province and district must firmly ascertain its conditions regarding local manpower, soil conditions, services, trades and material bases; its potential to cooperate with other units and to deal with exports and imports; and the quantities of materials and goods each needs to receive annually from the state. On this basis, every locality must map out a plan for expanded reproduction in order to guarantee the well-being of the local people and ensure that the amounts of products and financial contributions it will turn into the state correspond to the capabilities of the locality and to the amounts of materials and funds provided by the state. Plans to be mapped out by each locality must be designed to step up specialized and cooperativized production in conformity with its advantageous position; must expand the barter trade with other sectors and localities and must increase imports and exports.

All ministries in charge of management over other related sectors are duty-bound to assist in the planning work for the entire economic-technical sector in accordance with the specialty of each sector concerned. The plans of each sector must be worked out in the spirit of struggling to achieve still greater growth for itself and to contribute increasingly to the national economy. Plans of various corporations and production cartels must be established in accordance with the principles of financial independence and profitable trade business.

This planning system--which advocates linking the planning with the profit-and-loss economic accounting and with socialist trade--require increased economic incentive measures and scientific bases of planning, improved planning methods and procedures, and the linking of planning work with efforts to direct the implementation of plans.

With regard to economic incentive measures, we must quickly revise those policies which are no longer suitable; formulate new, uniform policies which will be integrated into the planning system to form a unified economic management mechanism; enhance the position of the state plan and simultaneously expand the decision-making power of various sectors, localities and establishments. All economic incentive policies--the majority of them have been presented in the second part of this report--must guarantee the interests of the state, collectives and the working people.

We must uphold the role of economic contracts in the preparation and implementation of plans; increase the responsibilities of various economic units and their managers over those contracts already signed and develop economic arbitration work. We must actively create conditions and practice profit-and-loss economic accounting in a way suitable for various types of enterprises; and must unify the production and financial plans of enterprises.

Regarding the scientific base of planning, we must continue to carry out satisfactorily the tasks regarding capital surveys, socioeconomic forecasts and scientific-technical forecasts. We must devise a socioeconomic strategy, a general program for the distribution of the production force and a long-term plan on the basis of economic-technical plans for each product. We must gradually perfect the system of standards for unit prices designed to serve the calculation and appraisal of the fulfillment of plans. We must closely link economic plans with scientific-technical plans.

With regard to planning methods and procedures, the state should promptly bring its control numbers together with the system of targets--more condensed now than before--to bear mainly on the following four points: volume production; products delivered to the state; profits turned over and taxes paid to the state; and the means and facilities provided by the state.

The legal system of targets assigned to primary establishments, sectors, and localities should be determined properly and succinctly. The authorities at all levels must be very attentive in securing better balances in plans and must observe economic-technical norms and standards.

To enhance the legality of plans, it is necessary to gradually perfect the system of economic laws, strengthen the planning, contractual and financial

discipline involving units and individuals by applying severe punishments for violations and by commending and appropriately providing rewards for good services.

To create favorable premises for the new planning system, we should reorganize production and work urgently to promptly shape up a smooth and rational production and business network. As an immediate task, we should consolidate and perfect all the state-owned and collective economic establishments. This is a very important task with practical effects. We should resolutely overcome the practice of operating businesses at a loss.

Depending on the level of development and the specific characteristics in each sector, we should gradually organize joint production in each region or throughout the country under such suitable forms as joint enterprises, factory combines, corporations and production groups.

We should consolidate existing joint production enterprises in order to specialize and cooperativize production, achieving higher socioeconomic results. We should make steady preparations and establish some new joint enterprises in major sectors and targeted areas. We should strive to build districts in close connection with the consolidation of cooperatives according to models suitable to each category of districts.

In general, the economy in districts involves agricultural production collectives, cooperatives, some production and processing factories, artisan industry and handicrafts installations, some agricultural technical farms and stations, and some shops to supply materials, collect and purchase agricultural products and retail consumer goods which are linked to one another through the economic relations established in plans and contracts or through joint enterprise.

We should concentrate on most satisfactorily developing important districts having high rates of commodity production. We should emphasize the process of developing the provincial economy and vigorously accelerate the operations to regularize coordination among the provincial authorities in order to associate the centrally run economy with the local economies in provinces. We should intensify the economic cooperation and trade among districts in a province and among provinces.

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We should organize and administer cities and towns well and clearly determine the position and scope of administration at precinct and city ward levels. In keeping with the requirements of changing the planning system, we should develop economic leverages, reorganize production, revamp the management machinery, and improve the cadre task and work system.

We should enhance the function of the Council of Ministers and its Standing Committee by intensifying their effectiveness in economic and social management; firmly grasping the stateplan; deciding various economic policies; guiding the works of various sectors and authorities at all echelons; and supervising and controlling economic and social activities.

We should stress that all ministries--either those in charge of general matters or of managing specific sectors--must play an important role depending on their functions and missions. The ministries in charge of general matters such as the State Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry, the state bank, the State Price Commission and the Ministries of Labor and Supply must fulfill their general management and advisory functions well to serve and control all sectors, localities and primary establishments. The ministries in charge of specific sectors must actually manage the sectors throughout the country, adequately fulfilling the state management function from the administrative, economic and technical standpoints. At the same time, they must guide subordinate units in the management of production and business.

We should rationalize the division of labor among ministries, determine the managerial scope and the organizational method of each ministry, and strictly streamline the machinery by reducing the intermediary organizations and rationally determining the administrative staff of ministries.

We should urgently settle the question of classifying central and local management, boldly extend authority and responsibility to the provincial and municipal levels and to the district and grassroots levels, and properly intensify the centralized and unified management of central government. We should implement in a resolute and adequate manner the resolutions of the party Central Committee and of its Political Bureau on cadre affairs in order to create at all costs a radical change in cadre affairs.

We should properly assign the contingent of key cadres and employ them satisfactorily in order to develop the potential of the contingent of cadres in general. We should rearrange the number of managerial cadres at various establishments, joint enterprises and corporations, ensuring that each unit has a team of key cadres and a leader with good qualities and abilities to perform their assigned missions satisfactorily.

We should revamp those central organs having poor-quality cadres and should replenish various localities--especially the district and grassroots levels--with managerial cadres and scientific and technical cadres.

We should quickly expand and qualitatively improve the training of managerial cadres at all levels in order to meet working requirements in the period ahead.

As for working systems and behavior, first of all, all state organs, cadres and workers should strictly comply with the four systems already in force--namely, the system of responsibility, the system of labor discipline, the system of protecting public property and the system of serving the people--and should translate these systems into a set of by-laws.

We should delineate responsibilities for each position to be assumed by state cadres; create conditions for implementing the system of one-man responsibility; and improve the sense of responsibility and respect for the state law.

We should resolve to do away with bureaucracy and the bad practice of abusing one's power to extort money and cause inconveniences to the people.

We should quickly materialize and intensively implement the system of issuing and implementing decisions with emphasis on improving the preparation of decisions by mobilizing the contributions of related organizations and of those who are knowledgeable in certain particular subjects. We should improve the results of the implementation of decisions through the improvement of guidance activities and the enhancing of discipline.

One of the most important things to be emphasized is that we should strive to improve operational control abilities of various management organs at all levels from the Council of Ministers down to the grassroots level.

Over the past few years our operational control task, though showing some progress in certain areas, has not been good enough to meet requirements dictated by the situation and tasks.

The operational control task requires that every agency and everyone must work in a disciplined, responsible and effective manner and that we must coordinate all forces synchronistically, tightly control the implementation of plans and policies, detect and make timely decisions to tackle problems arising in everyday life, and review and disseminate good experiences. This is part of the struggle to eradicate the ills of bureaucracy, conservatism and sluggishness and other handicaps in general knowledge, work performance and working methods.

In order to increase the effect of operational control, we must attach importance to the reorganization of the economic and social information system, ensuring prompt dissemination of policies and plans from the central down to the grassroots levels and the masses and simultaneously reflecting faithfully and promptly the opinion and aspirations of the grassroots level and the masses to higher echelons including the central echelon, thus contributing practically to the exercise of collective mastery by the laboring people.

The new managerial mechanism must be built uniformly. At present, we must concentrate on carrying out the following urgent tasks effectively:

--Revising planning methods, which should be reflected in the preparation of the 5-year 1981-85 plan and the 1983 plan;

--Resolving the problems of delineating the managerial responsibilities between the central and local levels;

--Perfecting the contract system with groups of laborers and individual laborers in agriculture and the policy of broadening the right to take initiative in production and trade business of various state-owned economic establishments;

--Introducing and implementing a number of new incentive policies aimed at promoting agricultural development and increased production of consumer and export goods;

--Further rearranging various production establishments and capital construction projects;

--Stepping up market transformation and management, further resolving the problems of prices and wages, and correcting irrational profit-making activities; and

--Renovating the state administrative machinery, revising working procedures and initiating socialist emulation movements.

Renovating economic management work is now a most important task of our state. As the sharpest tool of the party and the people, the state is dutybound to administer all activities in society with economic activities being the fundamental concern.

In the present situation, the state must demonstrate strongly its proletarian dictatorial nature; and must legalize and reflect fully the party leadership and the laboring people's collective mastery.

Simultaneously our state must satisfactorily exercise its state administrative management right, the socialist trade management procedures in the economic field and professional management in the cultural, educational, public health, scientific and technical fields. As all of these managerial activities are to be given a legal basis, the state must attach great importance to the gradual establishment of a system of laws--especially economic laws--and to the enhancing of socialist legislation.

Our state must define by law the very important role of mass organizations and must cooperate with and create favorable conditions for trade unions, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Women's Association and other mass organizations. These organizations are the communist and socialist schools of the people of various strata, the effective collaborators of the state, and the bonds linking the party with the masses.

In order to satisfactorily carry out all these complex managerial tasks, it is vital to institutionalize and develop the laboring people's collective mastery, especially at the grassroots level--in the enterprises and cooperatives--through various mass organizations and through the system of the organs of power ranging from people's councils and people's committees to the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

Dear Presidium, dear comrade delegates, the national situation and revolutionary struggle require a widespread and profound revolutionary change in all aspects of life and in all of our people's activities as well as among all of us. We must first of all change our way of thinking, which will in turn lead to a change in our work performance, in the party, in the state machinery, in mass organizations, in the armed forces and among the people of various strata.



Advancing from a poor country with small-scale production directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development is a process of arduous and complicated revolutionary struggle taking place over a historical period of several decades. This is the widest, deepest and most radical revolutionary struggle, which will lead to the most fundamental and comprehensive changes in all aspects of society, of life and of man. For our country in its present situation, this is a stalwart and persistent struggle which has assumed various forms and various methods to oppose the old, the obsolete and the evil that are impeding our advance; and at the same time, this is a fierce struggle against the enemy's war of multisided sabotage.

Every one of us must arm himself with the great ideologies of the general line and the line for building the socialist economy laid down by the fourth party congress and applied and concretized in the various policies of all spheres of activities set forth at this fifth party congress; and, on this basis, create a deep, broad and vigorous revolutionary change. We must show creativeness in this revolutionary change. The change itself is creative and it is aimed at a more vigorous promotion of the creative factors in our revolutionary cause. The existing situation requires that we step up the struggle to check, repel and do away with the negative phenomena in the economic and cultural fields and in social life. This is a comprehensive struggle and we must be aware of the importance and complexity of it.

We must remain wide awake to clearly recognize acts of economic sabotage, poisoning of our culture and lifestyle, and acts of psychological warfare conducted by the enemy so as to promptly discover and suppress them. Concerning the criminal acts of profiteers, smugglers and a number of new exploiters and bad elements, resolute efforts must be made to uncover them for due punishment. For the illegitimate business practices that go against the law of the state by people who are engaged in individual production and trade, we must promptly criticize and persistently persuade these people to redirect themselves to legitimate work activities that are useful to the nation.

We must also recognize the deplorable misdeeds committed by a number of persons belonging to party organizations, administrative bodies and mass organizations, such as the abuse of authority, laziness, lack of discipline, making irresponsible statements, theft and under-the-counter dealings. We must resolutely condemn these misdeeds and strictly and justly deal with those who have made grave mistakes.

The results of the struggle against the negative phenomena mentioned above will be decided by the leading role of the party, the exemplary role of party cadres and members, and the active role of the masses, by the coordination among state organs and the various sectors and echelons, and by the close combination of the three types of economic, administrative and educational measures. Experience shows that negative phenomena can only be effectively overcome when we have successfully developed positive factors. This is to say that we must closely combine construction with opposition. In this undertaking, construction is the basic measure and the best way to oppose is to build successfully.

Once the positive factors are developed into an overwhelming trend, it is certain that negative phenomena will be driven back. The problem here is that

the state machinery must promptly establish and enforce institutions suitable to the entire country as well as to each sector, each echelon and each type of grassroots unit; and proceeding from this, make the laboring people feel enthusiastic and confident so that they will earnestly engage in productive labor and participate in the struggle against negative phenomena.

President Ho said: To build socialism, we must have socialist people.

These are people who struggle staunchly with perseverance to overcome all difficulties, against all hostile forces and negative phenomena, and for the victory of socialist order, economic stability and welfare. On this basis, our great cause will be steadily advanced.

Now more than ever before, we should recall the glorious tradition of our party and nation, which for the past few decades have defeated extremely cruel enemies to liberate and defend our fatherland and to make worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world people. Now more than ever before, let all of us strive to bring into play the precious assets bequeathed by the process of revolution to the entire nation and to every one of us.

Socialist people are those endowed with noble virtues and fine sentiments, who faithfully dedicate their lives to the socialist fatherland and the people, and who work voluntarily and in a disciplined fashion. Everyone must actively work, engage in productive labor, and turn out increasingly valuable material and cultural products. Since the country is still poor and life still suffers from privations, everyone must work to the best of his ability and conscientiously, and everyone must understand that he can only live by what he produces.

Our party is a vanguard party of the working class; every party member is a militant revolutionary who takes the lead in all struggles, especially in the hardest times and places. At present, this is a prominent requirement of party membership which we must fully understand and translate into action. In our country, life has proved a universal truth: When party members take the lead, the people will follow. This is the secret formula for bringing about revolutionary changes in the economic and social situation.

Our country's working people are endowed with a staunch revolutionary spirit, ardent patriotism, courage, intelligence and creative talents. The party's leadership, the state's management, and the organizational, educational and motivational work of the mass organizations must set in motion by all means the enormous force of the people in a vigorous, broad and persistent socialist emulation movement. Experience in all our outstanding units has shown that the working people in our country are not only good producers who create the material and cultural wealth but intelligent managers who have made valuable innovations in the management of the economy and of society.

By applying a series of uniform measures, including defining concrete emulation targets, creating conditions for economic activities to be carried out regularly, implementing policies which provide material incentives, and promoting labor discipline and state law, we must launch at all costs a revolutionary movement of the working people in the cities and the countryside. This is aimed at successfully elaborating and implementing the 1981-82 and the 5-year 1981-85 state plans.

Revolution is an undertaking of the masses. Exercising their right to socialist collective mastery, our people will certainly achieve the great cause of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Let our entire party and people march forward with enthusiasm, unity and confidence, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by esteemed Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, and realize at all costs great Uncle Ho's instructions: Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be; the U.S. aggressors defeated, we will build our country 10 times more beautiful.

All for the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness. The great cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland will certainly be successful.

## LE DUC THO ADDRESS TO FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

### Part I

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[Part One of report on party building work read by Le Duc Tho, member of VCP Central Committee Political Bureau, at the 27 March session of the Fifth VCP Congress held at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi--read by announcer]

[Text] Dear Comrade delegates: In the process of the incessant development of the revolution in our country since the fourth national party congress, in light of the correct line set forth by that congress, our entire party, people and army have brought into play their revolutionary heroism, have actively striven to overcome all difficulties and to surmount all trials, and have recorded very great victories in the cause of national defense and initial achievements in the case of national reconstruction.

The party Central Committee political report, read by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, has comprehensively reviewed the situation of the revolution in our country since the great 1975 spring victory and the activities of the Central Committee in the past term, and has proposed to the congress targets, tasks and measures for future steady advancement of the revolutionary cause of our party and people.

This report on party building by the Central Committee reviews the situation of the party and party-building work since the fourth party congress, and proposes to the congress major tasks and measures concerning the building of our party so as to bring about new changes in improving the quality of the party's leadership and fighting capacity and to meet the requirements of the revolutionary tasks in the new stage, as expounded in the political report.

### Part One

The Situation of Our Party Since the Fourth National Party Congress and the Task of Party Building

#### I. The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Party and of Party Building Work

Comrades, in December 1976 the fourth national party congress set forth the general line of socialist revolution and the line of socialist economic

building in our country. Over the past 5 years, implementing the various resolutions of the congress, our party has carried out comprehensive and very pressing tasks nationwide, in a situation marked by many new favorable conditions, but also replete with new difficulties and complexities.

No sooner had we entered the fight on the socioeconomic front than we had to cope with a very barbarous and cunning enemy--the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists--who, in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, launched a very fierce attack against our country in the military, economic, political and diplomatic fields.

In view of the new situation, our party continued to bring into play its tradition of staunch struggle, held fast to the revolutionary and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, held high the banners of national independence and socialism, and continuously led our people to record very glorious victories in the case of building and defending the socialist fatherland and fulfilling their international obligations.

1. In the process of carrying out its political tasks, our party has shown very basic strengths; at the same time, it has betrayed major weaknesses and shortcomings which it should make every effort to overcome.

The great victories affirmed in the Central Committee political report have attested to the heroic quality and the great fighting strength of our people and the basic strengths of our party and our contingent of party cadres and members. The shortcomings and weaknesses in carrying out various socioeconomic tasks have also posed to the party and its ranks many new requirements which must be fulfilled to improve the quality of the party's leadership and to increase its fighting strength.

Revolutionary realities over the past 5 years have continued to prove the following:

a. Our party is a stalwart Marxist-Leninist party with a firm line that has organized and led our people to overcome all serious challenges facing the country and has always developed the spirit of revolutionary offensive to advance the revolution constantly. The party's general line for the socialist revolution, its line for building the socialist economy and its line for foreign relations are correct. In all difficult and complicated situations, the party had persistently followed these correct lines.

When the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists clearly revealed their dark designs, the party resolutely charged our nation with a new historic mission and asserted: In this struggle, our people must win total victory, thus making socialism in our country advance continuously, our party and state stronger, our organization and managerial work more scientific, and our society more beautiful.\* In the face of aggression by the nation's enemy,

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\*(Footnote: Resolution of the party Central Committee Fourth Plenum No 10/NQ/TW)

the entire party closed its ranks around the Central Committee and mobilized and organized all the armed forces and people to defeat two wars of aggression, recording great victories of historic significance in the cause of defending the fatherland.

Our party is very proud of its ranks whose members are absolutely loyal to the nation, the party and the system. They have been trained in combat for the defense of the fatherland as well as in socialist construction; and their abilities have been gradually enhanced in all respects.

Our party is very proud of its members who are operating selflessly in the various sectors, localities, establishments and combat units. Countless party cadres and members have spent decades performing combat duty but they are still present on the frontline now, standing face to face with the enemy in defiance of all difficulties and hardships and ready to accept all challenges, including the highest sacrifice.

Countless party cadres and members have worked hard day and night to organize and promote the revolutionary movement in order to develop the economy and culture, stabilize the people's life and maintain political security, public order and social safety, thus making their worthy contributions to the great successes of the party in its glorious revolutionary cause.

The party's unchanging stand on countering all the schemes and acts of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, coupled with its determination to push the revolution forward by carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction, testifies to the fact that our party is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party that has never wavered or retreated in the face of challenges. This is a strength and also an important lesson of experience of our party.

b. Our party has firmly upheld the banner of national independence and socialism, harmoniously combined genuine patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism, and has striven hard to fulfill its international obligations.

With ardent socialist patriotism and a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism, we did our best to support and assist the fraternal people of Kampuchea in smashing the genocidal regime. With this success of the Kampuchean people, all the three Indochinese countries became totally independent and free and advanced together toward socialism. This great success has strengthened the militant alliance and created an unprecedentedly firm mutually supportive position for the revolutions of the three Indochinese countries in the struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to defend the independence and freedom of each country and contribute to the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Imbued with ardent socialist patriotism and a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism, our party and people have vigorously developed their militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union--the bastion of revolution and world peace--and have actively strengthened their militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation with other countries of the socialist community. This combination of patriotism with proletarian

internationalism has testified to our party's boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the uncompromising struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who, in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, are directing their attacks at the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

In a situation wherein we are to deal with a perfidious and dangerous enemy and wherein our revolution has reached a new turning point, the consistency of the party's international line and the adoption of resolute and clear-sighted policies and strategies and accurate and prompt decisions for winning victories in the struggle against the expansionist aggressors reflect the firmness, the Leninist character and the pure proletarian internationalist spirit of our party. This is an advantage as well as a major experience for our party.

c. Besides the successes achieved in the socialist revolution, our party has also experienced shortcomings and committed mistakes in economic and social leadership and management. After having achieved successes and committed blunders, the party has further understood the realities of the country, drawn upon experience and matured a step further in economic and social management.

Since the fourth party congress, party organizations have made progress in the struggle to implement the party's lines and policies, and the party ranks have further matured. In the socialist revolution, our party had led our people in scoring many achievements. It has promptly unified the country, overcome the serious consequences of the war of aggression and of repeated natural calamities, basically restored economic establishments destroyed by the aggressors, gradually established and strengthened the system of socialist collective mastery, embarked on the socialist transformation of the south, consolidated a step further the socialist production relations in the north, created a number of material-technical bases of socialism and scored many achievements in education, culture, public health and social welfare.

As a result of implementing the [fourth party] congress' resolution, the party Central Committee and all party committee echelons, state managerial organs and production and trade organizations have seen even more clearly their own shortcomings and weaknesses and are seeking ways to overcome them. Many party organizations and party members and cadres have developed innovations, overcome difficulties, supported new ideas and led the mass movement in its advance. Recognizing weaknesses and thinking about and finding ways to overcome difficulties are manifestations of our maturity. We welcome all efforts of party members and cadres, party organizations, mass groups, state agencies and grassroots-level units in heightening their activities and developing innovations in order to correct shortcomings and overcome difficulties.

We have restored and developed the economy and stabilized the people's life at a time when the revolution has undergone rapid changes. For this reason, many aspects of our tasks--including ideological and organizational tasks--have not been properly prepared. Hardly had we embarked on managing the country, suffering from wounds caused by more than 30 years of war, when a new war of aggression occurred. We have had to build the country while, at the same time, defending it. The enemy was defeated but their perfidious schemes

continue, and our struggle has not yet come to an end. We are simultaneously stabilizing and developing the economy and building strong national defense and security forces in order to cope with a multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy. We are ready to annihilate the enemy if he recklessly provokes a new war of aggression.

It is noteworthy that, although being a ruling party for more than 35 years, our party has not had much time to concentrate on economic leadership and has lacked adequate reviews of past economic activities. Therefore, our experience in economic leadership is very limited. Actually, there are objective causes for the present difficulties; but we must candidly acknowledge our subjective shortcomings and mistakes, especially in economic and social leadership and management.

The political and economic lines adopted by the fourth party congress for the period of transition to socialism are correct. But we have been slow to make them concrete and have experienced shortcomings and committed mistakes in specifying and implementing them. In laying down tasks and guidelines for the 5-year 1976-80 plan, we did not assess the situation in strict accordance with the prevailing conditions, and we were not aware of all difficulties. Subjective and impatient, we set forth tasks and norms for the state plans far beyond our actual capabilities. There have been serious shortcomings in the arrangement of general investments and investments in each sector. Moreover, we must admit that we have been conservative and sluggish in devising and implementing specific guidelines and policies to carry out the party's lines, and in evaluating and using our multifaceted capabilities.

We have had grave shortcomings and made grave mistakes in organizing the implementation of tasks and have displayed weaknesses in many aspects of economic management. Bureaucratism, conservatism, stagnation, lack of responsibility and of concentration in organizing the implementation of tasks are reaching serious proportions.

We have allowed the prolongation of bureaucratic methods of economic management based on subsidization; have been slow to change planning methods, to adopt suitable economic policies aimed at stimulating economic development, and to switch to profit-and-loss accounting; and have been ignorant about business practices.

In various fields we have, in many places and on many occasions, been lax in economic, cultural and social management, in ideological work and in security maintenance; and have failed to strengthen the socialist legal system to maintain social discipline firmly, thus prolonging the development of negative aspects and making it difficult to overcome them.

The recent resolutions of the party Central Committee, especially those of the sixth and ninth plenums, the Political Bureau resolutions on distribution and circulation, on political security, on the policy for science and technology and on organizational work, and the Secretariat resolution on ideological work have laid the initial groundwork for a change in direction which is aimed at overcoming these shortcomings and weaknesses. A number of policies on distribution and circulation and on the improvement of economic management have been



introduced into life and they are creating the initial positive factors for economic activities.

An important lesson from the experience of our successes and failures over past years is that once a correct line has been established it is crucial that we make sure it is thoroughly understood and that we apply it with timely, accurate steps, plans and a managerial system suitable to the actual conditions of the country, so that proceeding from this we can uniformly change economic, administrative, ideological and organizational methods, to ensure thorough understanding and successful implementation of this established line.

At present shortcomings are being corrected slowly and stagnation remains critical. We are convinced that the resolution of the fifth party congress, which embodies the lessons of experience drawn over the past 5 years, will create a vigorous and profound upturn within the party, upgrade the party's leading and organizational capabilities to a new level, and open up new prospects for advancing the economy and our people's livelihood.

2. The strongpoints and shortcomings in the party's political leadership are closely linked to strongpoints and shortcomings in the effort to build a party ideologically and organizationally.

a. Over the past 5 years we have made new efforts to build the party ideologically and organizationally. The fourth national party congress reviewed party building work, set forth the tasks, guidelines and correct policies for party building in the period of socialist construction, and approved the new, amended party statutes. In implementation of the congress resolution, we have striven to enhance constantly the working class and vanguard character of the party and to make concrete and apply the guidelines for party building established by the congress. The various resolutions adopted by the party Central Committee have clearly reflected a stronger link between the political tasks and ideological and organizational work. The Political Bureau and the Secretariat have issued many specific directives on this work.

With these correct policies, we have built and gradually consolidated the organizational system of the party, the state and mass organizations throughout the country; and we have employed this machinery to lead and organize the people to carry out major tasks of strategic significance in order to transform and develop the economy and culture, boost production, organize the people's life, consolidate national defense, maintain public order and security, defeat the war of aggression by the expansionists and fulfill our international obligations.

The resolution of the party Central Committee's fourth plenum on consolidating the organization and improving the work system and resolution No 32-NQ/TU of the Political Bureau on effecting a profound organizational change to strengthen leadership and management, especially in the economic field, have reflected even more clearly the guidelines for building our party and have made concrete the party's viewpoints on forming an organizational structure to meet the specific conditions of the revolution in our country. The new SRV Constitution has institutionalized the party's domestic and foreign lines and laid the groundwork for building and consolidating the system of socialist collective mastery and building the system of leadership by the party, collective mastery by the laboring people and management by the state.

We have also made efforts to enhance the party's leading capacity and fighting strength. Over the past 5 years, implementing the party statutes, party organizations at all levels have held two rounds of congresses. The holding of these congresses--which received more concentrated guidance than before--in accordance with directive No 55/CTTU of the party Central Committee Secretariat was an opportunity to comprehensively build the party politically, ideologically and organizationally. This was an opportunity to broaden democracy in the internal ranks and to carry out profound criticism and self-criticism from top to bottom and from bottom to top. This was also an opportunity to motivate the masses to participate in building the party comprehensively.

In each election of new party committee echelons during these congresses, around one-third of the members of the party committee echelons concerned were replaced, with the number of party committee members who are experienced in leadership and management, who had been in various party schools and who come from the working class increasing. In many provincial and city party committees, the number of members having a college education now accounts for 27.7 percent. In the north, the figure is 42 percent with Hai Hung Province putting its figure at 81 percent. In many district party committees, the number of members having a college or vocational high school education is 24.6 percent. The figure in the north stands at 32 percent. This is a new development in the general knowledge of the contingent of leadership cadres, considering the situation before the Fourth VCP Congress.

The first-ever drive to issue party membership cards has become a far-reaching and widespread political move. It has improved the party members' awareness of the party and their sense of responsibility.

We welcome these initial results of the task to issue party membership cards.

Over the past 5 years the party has rid itself of many unqualified members. Improved activities by the party control committees at various levels have produced certain results, have contributed to developing positivism, overcoming negativism, and have helped detect and remove from the party those bad elements who are no longer qualified as party members.

From various mass movements in production and combat, the party has admitted into its ranks more than 375,000 people, more than 85 percent outstanding members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. The granting of new party memberships has contributed to improving the party quantitatively and setting up more party chapters. Of the nearly 150,000 party chapters belonging to 35,146 grassroots-level party organizations, 39,766 party chapters have been formed since the fourth party congress.

The perfection of grassroots-level party organizations and the campaign to make party bases healthy and strong according to the five requirements are linked closely to the perfection of primary production establishments and the development of districts which are being carried out.

Through the campaign, the number of weak party bases in many localities has decreased gradually. All party committees and organizations at the provincial, city and grassroots-level in the south have developed uniformly. Some party

organizations have quickly improved their leadership over the economy and culture.

Our state and party have also managed to form cadres to meet the economic and national defense requirements, and have assigned nearly 100,000 cadres to the southern provinces and cities, the border districts, and the various posts outside the country to fulfill their international obligations. Training courses have been conducted recently for the high- and medium-ranking leading cadres of the party and state to acquire new knowledge of economic management.

In 5 years we have had 340,000 additional cadres graduate from various middle vocational schools and colleges. The network of party schools at all levels has expanded. The task of theoretical and political education has been intensified. More than 1 million party members have received political and theoretical training through different programs.

The press, radio and television, and the cultural, artistic and propaganda activities of the party and state have contributed to strengthening the party's ideological front further. Efforts to develop the party ideologically and organizationally have helped enhance the standards and quality of knowledge of cadres and party members, guaranteeing the fulfillment of the party's political mission.

b. Despite these efforts and results, the party's ideological and organizational tasks in all domains, especially in socialist construction, are still sluggish in several respects. On the ideological front, we still lack incisiveness, timeliness and militancy. In some aspects, our ideological task is rightist, simplistic and one-sided, and lacks flexibility. We have not grasped firmly the pressing problems arising from life and have therefore obtained low results in our ideological task.

The primary weak point in our ideological task is that we have succeeded neither in making all the party and the people thoroughly understand the socialist construction line nor in creating a high degree of agreement on the basis of adequate theoretical and factual evidence of the party's correct line. The class character of ideological education has not been emphasized.

To us, the advance of an economy from small to large-scale production is an attack on a difficult and complicated area which has never been explored. Not fully aware of this particular point and failing to take positive action to conduct basic and advanced training in socialism and economic management for cadres and to derive experiences from reality, we have not therefore been able to understand the party line profoundly and to materialize it in keeping with each stage, each sector and each locality.

Following our victory over the United States, we failed to conduct extensive and intensive education on the development of various stages, to evaluate the situation correctly and to estimate all the difficulties and the changes in thinking of cadres, party members and the masses so as to prevent negativism actively. We have not educated ourselves on the struggle between socialism and capitalism regularly and profoundly.

The political and ideological education to heighten awareness of the socialist revolution and the communist ideal among the party members, the people and especially youths has been belittled. The education of cadres, party members and the people on collective mastery has been neither specific nor practical.

In all fields of activity, the struggle to overcome nonsocialist thinking, such as petty bourgeois and bourgeois thinking, vestiges of neocolonialist culture and feudalist thinking and so forth, has been neglected.

In the struggle against the enemies, our party cadres and members and workers have not profoundly understood the reactionary nature and thinking of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists. Revolutionary vigilance has been seriously lacking.

We have not promptly made our party cadres and members and people understand clearly all the enemies' sinister schemes and tactics aimed at undermining our party, especially the solidarity and single-mindedness of its members, weakening the proletarian state, degenerating the contingent of party cadres and members and state personnel, and damaging our party's public establishments and our economy.

Within the party and state organs, apart from the prevailing hasty thinking, insensitivity, bureaucracy and heavy conservatism are the main cause for the present sluggishness. This situation has limited profound understanding and scrupulous implementation of the party's lines and policies and obstructed the creativity of the people, party cadres and members. It has also obstructed new changes in the managerial apparatus and the amendment of backward politics and systems.

Over the past several years, the principle of democratic centralism in many places was not scrupulously carried out. Such phenomena as disorganization, lack of discipline, departmentalism and localism were prevalent in varying degrees. On the other hand, an undemocratic situation prevails in which self-criticism from the top to low levels and vice versa is lacking; information for the grassroots-level is slow and insufficient; and attention is not paid to analyzing public opinion. Such phenomena as bossism, arbitrariness, prejudices against and oppression of party cadres and members and people who dare to criticize shortcomings are also serious.

The diminishing quality and decreasing militant will in a segment of responsible cadres at various echelons and sectors from top to bottom and in a number of party members is creating a great adverse effect on our party. Many persons, proceeding from errors in their activities and bureaucratic behavior, have changed their way of life and degenerated politically. These elements have not been completely screened.

Our party has a tradition of solidarity and unanimity regarding its lines. In the recent past, however, there was delay in making the party's lines concrete and their application was not profound. A number of matters concerning guidelines for carrying out the party's lines were not thoroughly understood or there was a lack of high identity of views among various echelons and sectors.

Along with this situation, there was a lack of unity and poor cooperation among party cadres and members to the extent of enlisting partisans among a number of cadres in many localities, organizations and units. This was caused either by incorrect methods and thinking such as subjectivism, superficiality, simplism and so forth or by nuclear motives stemming from individualism and other non-proletarian thinking such as bossism, feudalism, privileges, prerogatives, opportunism, jealousy and position-seeking.

It is necessary to stress here that our party is the organ holding power. These weaknesses in its standards and the shortcomings of its cadres and members in quality and ethics have obstructed the organization and implementation of the party's lines, thereby creating a great adverse effect on the economic and political domains. The enemies are taking advantage of this situation to incite the masses and diminish the people's confidence in the party.

We have talked about this situation many times, analyzed its causes and devised measures for resolving it. However, the measures set forth have not been enforced uniformly; they have not received intensive guidance; and in many places, they have not been carried out scrupulously due to key cadres affected by favoritism, deference or a lack of internal struggle spirit. As a result, corrective actions have been generally ineffective.

On the organizational front, organizational work is also very stagnant and too slow to adjust to meet the requirements of the situation and tasks. We have not yet been able to build a strong integrated organizational structure from central to grassroots level. The system of leadership by the party, collective mastery by the laboring people and management by the state, as pointed out in the political report, is not yet reflected in the daily activities of party committee echelons, state organs and mass organizations at all levels in the various sectors.

In some localities, party organizations are not clean. Many grassroots party organizations have been weak and lagging for a prolonged period of time. The quality of party chapter activities remains low. The subjective dynamism of many grassroots party organizations is weak. Production and business establishments--the cells of the national economy--where potentials are directly developed in all aspects and where all the material wealth of society is directly created, do not yet have a uniform system for operating in accordance with socialist business methods. Districts have been built slowly as compared with the requirements set forth by the fourth party congress. Many production combines are still heavily burdened with the operational character of administrative organs. This situation has had a negative impact on the quality of leadership and the fighting strength of grassroots party organizations.

The current weakness of the organizational structure of the party and the state from the central to grassroots level generally lies in the fact that the organizational apparatus is cumbersome and heavy, whereas its efficiency remains poor; the system of responsibility is not clearcut; and there is no really definite allocation of functions, responsibilities and authority among party organs, state services and mass organizations, between higher and lower echelons, between managerial organs and production, business and service units,

and between the individuals and the collectives; and the splitting or merging of organizations and the establishment of new ones has, in many cases, been unwarranted.

The bureaucratic and subsidy-based system of economic management is spreading its harmful effects in many fields. It has given rise to a feeling of dependency and created the habit of shunning responsibility, thus depriving the apparatus of its dynamism, suppressing the masses' innovations, creating conditions for bureaucratism to flourish and making the administrative table of organization all too cumbersome. There has emerged a situation in which bureaucratic centralism and fragmentation exist, together, thus making it impossible to develop the dynamism of the sectors, localities and grassroots units, and to ensure centralized and unified leadership and management at the central level and smooth management sectorwide.

The work related to cadres still displays conservatism and sluggishness in many respects concerning training, fostering, assignment, employment, promotion and benefit policies and systems. This is a very important cause of the sluggishness in organizational and many other works. The training and fostering of economic management cadres have been slighted. The training of scientific and technological cadres has been stepped up, but it is still imbalanced in many respects; and this contingent of cadres has not been employed satisfactorily.

The training of workers to be cadres for the southern and mountain localities and the training and fostering of women cadres and managerial cadres for co-operatives, enterprises and other types of establishments have been carried out without appropriate programs, plans, measures and curricula.

Despite some progress, the assignment of key cadres to the various sectors and echelons in the past years has been done in a conservative and patched-up manner. This is due first of all to the lack of a training and fostering plan suitable to the development of the political task. The promotion of cadres is still influenced in a fairly heavy manner by old-fashioned methods for evaluating and selecting personnel, which lay too heavy a stress on past services, conduct, attitude, rank and position or academic records without truly considering work efficiency as the main yardstick to measure quality and ability.

The renovation of the task of managing cadres is slow. Many policies and regulations on remuneration for cadres are backward and conservative, thereby failing to encourage the development of talent and creating an unhealthy psychology among cadres and in society.

We have yet to establish a revolutionary and scientific work ethic and system. Such bad practices as administrativism, excessive emphasis on manual labor, lack of concentration, holding too many meetings and red tape from top to bottom are still prevalent and are important causes of shortcomings in the issuance of inaccurate and unspecific decisions.

The task of controlling the implementation of the party's lines, policies and resolutions, the application of the principle of democratic centralism and the

enforcement of party discipline is still very weak. The shortcomings in building the party ideologically and organizationally are making our apparatus less effective and to a great extent reducing it to inactive. Our enemies have taken advantage of and exacerbated these shortcomings to cause more difficulties to the economic and social life and to minimize the people's confidence in our party and state's economic and social leadership and management.

The fourth party Central Committee plenum and later the party Central Committee Political Bureau conference on the organizational task and the party Central Committee Secretariat conference on the ideological task pointed out the far-reaching causes of the weaknesses and shortcomings in building the party politically, ideologically and organizationally. The party-building task, the party Central Committee and various party committee echelons have not linked the ideological and organizational tasks to the political task. They have lacked the determination to correct shortcomings and have not organized reviews of major problems arising from each stage of work. They have not even made concrete the necessary guidelines concerning party thinking so as to be consistent with each region, locality and establishment.

Staff organs in charge of ideological and organizational work of all-level party executive committees, especially the party Central Committee, and organizational organs of all sectors have not been strengthened. These weak organs are still unable to meet the requirements of the assigned tasks. It is necessary to strive to overcome these weaknesses and shortcomings of the party-building task.

The lesson of experiences in leading the party-building task in the ideological and organizational domains in the recent past is that we must take great interest in making everyone understand more thoroughly the character of the working class, the vanguard character of the party and the party-building principles and guidelines laid down by the fourth party congress. We must be specific about these principles and guidelines, so as to make them suitable to the ever-changing conditions of the situation. Meanwhile, we must ensure that they are implemented uniformly.

It is necessary to emphasize the exemplary role and discipline in implementing the party's resolutions and directives, especially on the ideological and organization tasks, by the central to lower levels and particularly by leading organs and cadres at all echelons and in all sectors. In this connection, the central level and the higher party committee echelons must set good examples for the lower echelons to follow.

The task of building the party ideologically and organizationally must be associated with and aimed at accelerating political and economic tasks, the most important part of which is to renovate economic management work, especially the economic managerial system. This is a task which we have neglected thus far.

Comrade delegates, generally speaking, the shortcomings in economic and social leadership and management as well as in the ideological and organizational tasks in the recent past are very serious. The party Central Committee, in its political report to the congress, severely criticized itself and

admitted before the congress that it was responsible for this situation. There have been ideological and organizational causes of the shortcomings and mistakes in making the party's lines concrete and in organizing implementation of the various resolutions.

In making the line concrete, we have developed the shortcomings of failing to attach importance to teaching its basic viewpoint; being slow in imparting economic knowledge to party cadres and members; making inaccurate assessments of the situation; neglecting to concentrate the intellect of many echelons and sectors; exerting little effort to review the practical experiences of various localities and basic units; doing little experimental work to study and guide the resolution of major and new problems; and failing to attach importance to strengthening the party Central Committee's staff organs, the state's general organs, and the staff and research components of the various ministries, institutes and schools, so as to make good use of them as befitting their importance.

There have been some irrationalities in organizational structures, the division of labor and working methods, especially in the Political Bureau, the party Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers. This has also been a definite cause of this state of affairs.

The weakness and sluggishness in organizing the implementation of tasks have been caused not only by working methods and work style, they have also been the combined results of the shortcomings in ideological and organizational work, especially of the evils of bureaucratism and conservatism, of irresponsibility in the apparatus with its lingering bureaucratic and subsidization systems, of the deficiencies in the revolutionary quality and abilities of a number of leading cadres and party members on various levels and in various sectors, as well as the rightist laxity in organizing and leading numerous tasks.

To overcome the shortcomings in leading and organizing the implementation of tasks, we must not only resolve any of these problems separately but must eliminate all these causes simultaneously. We must especially and scrupulously implement the principle of democratic centralism in party activities and in economic and state management, and must oppose bureaucratism and conservatism so as to formulate promptly plans, policies, systems and management methods consistent with economic laws and with the characteristics of our national economy. A new spirit must be created in the mass movement to promote the development of production and to stabilize and improve gradually the people's living standards. On this basis and on the basis of training, deploying and educating cadres and promoting the exemplary role of cadres, especially key cadres from the top to the bottom level, we must resolve satisfactorily other ideological and organizational problems and overcome the negative aspects.

We are striving to overcome these shortcomings and mistakes. However, inertia remains serious and there has not been enough time for effecting necessary changes. Really bringing about a far-reaching and revolutionary change in organizing and building the party and in improving managerial work is the decisive factor in, first of all, successfully implementing the resolutions of the fifth national party congress.



## II. The General Tasks of Party Building

Comrades, we are building the party under the circumstances of our party being a ruling party and leading the building of socialism throughout the country in the new favorable conditions of the unified country and of the extraordinarily strong world revolutionary movement.

At the same time, however, we have to face very great difficulties such as advancing small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, coping with a protracted multifaceted war of destruction, and carrying out two strategic tasks simultaneously while the struggle between the two roads in the country as well as in the rest of the world is unfolding bitterly and the party's international obligations are considerable.

On the basis of the situation of the party and the actual situation in the country and of the new tasks specified in the political report, the key task in building the party consists of continuing to improve the working class, character and the party's vanguard character and build a politically, ideologically and organizationally firm and strong party in order to ensure the successful implementation of the party's lines and improve its leadership capabilities and effectiveness vis-a-vis the socialist construction and national defense cause. This will also help our party to maintain constantly its revolutionary and scientific character as a pure party that has a high combativity and which is closely attached to the masses.

The above key task must be carried out in coordination with the renovation of the state's managerial system, especially in the economic and social domains, and with the development of the effectiveness of the state management and the working people's collective mastery, in order to accelerate the overall development of society and ensure satisfactory party leadership over the two immediate, strategic tasks--successfully achieving the objectives set forth by the party for the 5-year 1981-85 period and the 1980's as a whole; and winning victory in the struggle against the Chinese hegemonist expansionists' multifaceted war of sabotage, standing ready to cope with any eventuality caused by them and fulfilling the party's international obligations.

Our party must truly be a party with able, knowledgeable and capable leadership of the socialist construction cause. It must, in particular, possess the knowledge and capability for economic leadership and management. It must be able to build a state that knows how to effectively manage the economy, the people's life and society.

Our party must be a very stalwart party in the struggle against Chinese hegemonistic expansionism which is in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. It must be in a good position to frustrate all of their acts of sabotage and aggression.

Our party must truly be a party which possesses high combativity and achieves solidarity and single-mindedness and which is politically clean and organizationally strong and firm and is closely attached to the masses.

With these tasks in mind, in the 5-year period to come there must be profound and basic changes in the party's ideological and organizational tasks according to the following requirements:

1. Ensure the profound understanding of the party's lines and improve its leadership and organizational ability in the economic, social, national defense and security domains, with stress laid on the economic domain.
2. Improve the party's leadership in conjunction with the renovation of the economic managerial system and the streamlining of the party's apparatus and overcome conservatism and bureaucratism in the party and state apparatuses.
3. Consolidate at all cost basic party organizations in coordination with the fulfillment of the political task of building districts, precincts, cities, villages and city wards; of building production and trade organizations and combat units; and of promoting mass movements. Improve the combativeness of basic party organizations, develop and consolidate the party ranks, and be resolute in dismissing opportunist, decadent and degenerate elements and unqualified members from the party.
4. According to plan, renovate the training and improvement of cadres, make arrangements for correct assignments, ensure continuity in the building of a contingent of core cadres, strive to improve the qualities and abilities of the body of cadres and ensure the firmness of the party under all circumstances. This is an extremely important requirement for our party's protracted revolutionary cause.
5. Maintain and develop the party's tradition of solidarity and single-mindedness, implement fully the principle of democratic centralism and carry out criticism and self-criticism constantly within the party.

## Part II

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[Part II of report on party building work read by Le Duc Tho, member of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau, at the 27 March session of the Fifth VCP Congress held at the Ba Dinh conference hall in Hanoi--read by announcer]

[Text]

## Part Two

Specific Tasks and Policies Aimed at Enhancing the Party's Leadership and Fighting Capacity Qualitatively

Comrades, on the basis of imbuing party cadres and members with the party's line, enhancing their consciousness of socialist revolution and developing their quality, in doing ideological work we must carry out the basic task of inculcating in our entire party, people and army a staunch will, an iron determination and an essential level of knowledge to perform both strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

## I. Fully Understand the Line of Socialist Revolution and Enhance the Working Class Stand in the Struggle Between the Two Roads

Realities over the past 5 years have shown that acquiring a thorough understanding of lines, especially the economic line, as well as gaining a firm grasp of economic practices and laws, is no simple matter. In this effort, we cannot merely stop at arming ourselves with theoretical knowledge or a general viewpoint on lines; on the contrary, we must closely combine theory with actual situations and experiences in the process of making lines concrete by translating them into the steps, targets, tasks, politics and norms of our short-term and long-term socioeconomic development plans as well as in the process of organizing the implementation of lines.

To make lines concrete by translating them into plans with correct targets, tasks and norms, we must have a firm grasp of our lines and of reality so as to make scientific decisions and to overcome the tendencies for subjectivism, precipitancy, divorcing oneself from reality and flouting laws, or conservatism, sluggishness, mistrust of the masses, and lacking the will to strive for progress. Only in this way can the lines be profoundly understood, voluntariness in implementing the lines and applying laws be enhanced, and more conditions be created for ideological work to be carried out in depth and to acquire a high militant character.

The recent shortcomings in economic work have clearly shown that after defining the general line and the economic line, the party should have adopted a socioeconomic strategy to serve as the guideline for determining economic structures and building socioeconomic plans satisfactorily. It should also have adopted a correct management system to ensure that the lines are reflected in real life and, on this basis, are implemented ever more profoundly.

A close combination of theory and practice is necessary to avoid being subjective in understanding and making lines concrete. To carry out this task satisfactorily, we must exploit fully and creatively the treasure of Marxist-Leninist theories and the diversified experiences of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and must refer discriminately to the experiences of many countries in the world. At the same time, we must attach great importance to reviewing our actual situation, especially in the economic field, we must review our economic activities and draw lessons therefrom to serve as a basis for making the party's line concrete and for developing and clarifying it even further so as to adhere correctly and creatively to the laws which govern the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in our country.

We must overcome empiricism, which scorns theory, as well as dogmatism, which advocates applying the experiences of foreign countries mechanically. Leading and managing cadres as well as cadres doing ideological and theoretical work must be promptly and accurately informed of essential matters. They must look more deeply into reality, listen more carefully to the voices of party cadres and members of the masses, and be more sensitive to the problems that crop up in life so as to point out theoretical and political questions which need to be solved.

Theoretical work and scientific research must be aimed directly at socioeconomic targets and must actively contribute to promoting a thorough understanding of the lines, to developing them and making them concrete and to organizing their implementation successfully.

Proper conditions must be created for the contingent of cadres doing theoretical work and scientific research to carry out these tasks in a satisfactory, organized and principled manner, thereby preventing these cadres from being cut off from the process of preparing for party and state decisions on the economic, cultural and social fields.

Along with and for the purpose of strengthening theoretical work, we must attach importance to reviewing the implementation of the party's lines and policies. Each party committee echelon must adopt an annual program to review a number of front rank models and some important activities necessary for promoting the mass movement. In the coming days, on the basis of fully understanding the resolutions of the fifth national party congress and reviewing the implementation of the resolutions of the fourth national party congress, each echelon, sector and unit must review its own experiences over the past 5 years. This is aimed at achieving an even greater unity of views on the party's lines, finding out the causes of shortcomings so as to rectify them, and advancing our work to even greater successes.

To ensure that the party's line of socialist construction is fully understood, made concrete and successfully implemented, we must widely improve party cadres' and members' knowledge of social sciences, natural sciences and technology, especially their knowledge of economic laws and economic management. It is necessary to establish a system under which leading and managing cadres are compelled to acquire economic knowledge, thereby stirring up a movement for economic study among the party and the people.

To carry out these tasks satisfactorily, we must build and strengthen the institutes and schools directly subordinate to the party Central Committee, the Institutes of the Academy of Sciences [viejn hamf laam khoa hocj], and other learning institutes. Utmost importance must be attached to strengthening the organs engaged in theoretical work, reorganizing the systems of party schools and schools of management, especially economic management, and various colleges and vocational middle schools; and improving the contents of the curricula as well as the teaching and learning methods of various schools so as to improve the quality of study and to create the basis for a thorough understanding of the lines along with an improvement in party cadres' and members' knowledge in all fields.

We must raise even further the status of the study of politics, Marxism-Leninism and the party's lines in schools and among teaching cadres, youths and students. The contingent of political lecturers of various schools must be reexamined so as to promote their training. This is an extremely important problem where building of new generations is concerned, and a key factor in enabling the party's ideological and political system to assume a real position of absolute supremacy in the spiritual life of our people and to become the ideological system of the entire people.

In promoting a thorough understanding of the party's line and organizing its implementation, we must enhance incessantly the concept of socialist collective mastery, promote the staunch revolutionary stand of the working class in the struggle between the two roads, and overcome both rightist and leftist tendencies.

The socialist revolution is, by nature, the most far-reaching and thoroughgoing revolution. Realities over the past 5 years have clearly shown that, in the process of implementing the party's lines to advance the revolution, the ideological struggle to settle the question of which of the two roads will prevail in the conditions of an economy still largely characterized by small-scale production is extremely difficult and complex.

This struggle requires that party cadres and members be endowed with a profound consciousness of the party's lines and ideals, be firm in their stand and viewpoints, show intelligence and creativity, and make an effort to improve their knowledge.

Subjectivism, impatience, haste or conservatism, and attitudes of small producers and nonproletarian people--such as a reluctance to undergo socialist transformation, a desire to enrich themselves by violating policies and manipulating laws and various state regulations--and illusions prevent us from realizing the fierceness of the class struggle to eliminate exploitation, which have been manifested here and there at one time or another among some cadres and party members, should be criticized sternly.

Taking these facts into consideration, these manifestations and the subjective and ineffective method of working have delayed socialist transformation. While it is very necessary and correct to launch an offensive to smash the mechanism of restrictive bureaucratic subsidization management--despite some major achievements we have scored so far--there have been people who are inclined to fail in firmly grasping the principle of democratic centralization and the other fundamental principles of socialist economic management.

While we are emphasizing the unification of the three interests to overcome the inclination to belittle the working people's interests--a completely correct emphasis--there have been cases in which the interests of the entire society are neglected or even encroached upon seriously. The shortcomings of some party committees and grassroots-level party organizations lie in the fact that they have not struggled to overcome these shortcomings promptly.

In the struggle to strengthen the material and technical bases of socialism, tendencies toward conservatism, impatience and haste have taken root, incorrectly reflecting the party line. There have been erroneous views which fail to realize clearly the key role of the scientific and technological revolution or simply stress the role of technology and fail to see the active factor of ideology and the strength of the masses exercising their collective mastery. The same situation has been observed in the cultural, social, military, security, ideological and organizational fields.

In the course of advancing the revolution, it is clear that along with some noted positive points, cases of rightist leaning, loss of vigilance and

relaxation on the ideological battlefield, which lead the mollification of dictatorship, have appeared and have caused no small a number of cadres, party members and Youth Union members to succumb to a bourgeois and neocolonialist lifestyle. They have displayed mediocre, degenerate and deviant tastes.

The duty of the ideological task is to actively educate cadres and party members on the lines, viewpoints and policies of the party and state concerning all areas of social activity, and to build a sense of exemplariness in implementing the policies of socialist life models. Through educational, economic, administrative and organizational measures we must positively overcome all negative aspects and determine a steady stand from which cadres, party members and the people can profoundly criticize the petty bourgeois manifestations and resolutely oppose the bourgeois concept and the vestiges of neocolonialist culture and feudalism.

We should fully realize that this is a persevering, uncompromising and relentless struggle. We should make party cadres and members and the people clearly realize that the struggle to resolve the question of who will defeat whom between socialism and capitalism in our country is a long and complicated struggle. We must struggle hard to bring about glorious victory.

There are still many difficulties ahead. Communists must adopt a correct attitude toward difficulties without any illusions, impatience or haste. They must see clearly the limit between the two paths in order to strive to surge forward together with the people to overcome difficulties, to win by all means a victory and to oppose dependence, indifference, irresponsibility and vacillation or faltering when faced with difficulties.

Through implementing the three revolutions, we should build a new economic structure and implement the new system of management to enhance the collective mastery sense of cadres, party members and the people; overcome the deviant inclinations to misunderstand or understand superficially the regime of socialist collective mastery, which only stress political democracy and fail to see the need to reflect collective mastery both in building the economic structure and the systems of management and organization, and in everyday life.

We often understand collective mastery erroneously as a sublime cause and fail to see it as a realistic policy that can and must be implemented immediately. We do not see that collective mastery is a process going from lower to higher echelons which is connected closely with the implementation of all other tasks and practical care for the laboring people's everyday life. We understand collective mastery haphazardly and fail to perceive the link between interests and obligations and consequently stress only one of these two aspects. We also either fail to see the need for close coordination among various echelons in exercising mastery, thus leading to bureaucratic centralism, egoism or departmentalism; or fail to realize the relationship between collective mastery and proletarian dictatorship and consequently set these two aspects in opposition to each other.

We should also overcome the inclination to vaguely understand the class stand by speaking generally of collective mastery without seeing that this is only the laboring people's collective mastery.

II. Develop a Firm Stand Against Chinese Expansionism and Hegemonism, and Against U.S. Imperialism and Other Reactionary Forces; Always Uphold Revolutionary Vigilance; and Stand Ready To Defend the Party and the Socialist Fatherland

Maoism, the essence of which is expansionism and hegemonism, has transformed the Chinese leaders into betrayers of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese people, and into extremely cruel and perfidious aggressors and saboteurs against our country. They have not hesitated, nor will they ever hesitate to use any cruel maneuvers to achieve their political aims.

The task of ideological work is to expose the vile character, perfidy and roots of reactionary Maoist thoughts, as well as the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists' sabotage activity in all fields against the revolution in our country and their collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces against national independence and socialism in all three Indochinese countries, for the purpose of eventually annexing our country and the entire region.

We must develop in our entire party the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, the sense of combat readiness, and an iron will as well as determination and perseverance in the struggle against acts of sabotage and aggression against our country by Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

We must make it clear that this struggle is difficult, complex, protracted and uncompromising. History has entrusted our party and people with this struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for the happiness of the people, and for the fulfillment of our noble international duty.

At present, along with their military activities in the border areas of the three Indochinese countries, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are waging a psychological and espionage war aimed at undermining our people's economy, living conditions, ideology and culture. It is also aimed at injecting the poison of reactionary political thoughts into our party to subvert discontented persons or those who still nurture a vague perception of the class struggle. More dangerous still, by carrying out activities designed to foment political unrest among our people, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have attempted to combine espionage and subversive activities with military actions in preparation for the launching of a large-scale war of aggression when conditions permit.

The task of ideological work is to uphold continuously the spirit of national independence and socialism, to bring into play the tradition of patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and to continuously make clear the uncompromising nature of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces who are working hand in glove with them. Ideological work also has the task of overcoming all manifestations of laxity in revolutionary vigilance, guarding against all manifestations of the thought of compromising, weariness and relaxation among party cadres and members and the people.

Each party chapter must be a fighting fortress and stay highly alert to all enemy schemes and actions. The working-class character of the army and security forces must be improved so as to ensure that our armed forces and security forces can bring into play their traditional resourcefulness and gallantry and remain absolutely loyal to the fatherland and socialism, to the party's objectives and ideals, to the glorious revolutionary cause of the fatherland and people, and to proletarian internationalism.

The tools of dictatorship of the party and state, especially the national defense and security organs and units, must work in close coordination, sharpen vigilance, stand ready to fight, resolutely implement dictatorship in dealing with the enemy and see to it that hostile and bad elements cannot carry out covert or overt activities easily.

The struggle against the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist aggressors and U.S. imperialism is closely linked with the struggle between the two roads in the country and with the common struggle of fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, which face the same enemies as we do. This struggle is also inseparable from the struggle between socialism and capitalism worldwide.

Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in collusion with U.S. imperialism are doing everything they can to broaden their offensive against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and the countries of the socialist community, so as to achieve hegemony, first in Southeast Asia and eventually throughout the world.

The struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, therefore, is not only the most pressing political task of our party and people, but one of the urgent political tasks of all Marxists and Leninists in the world. We must be fully aware of our party's important responsibility to the class and the nation in this struggle.

III. Hold Fast to the Principle of Maintaining Close Relations With the Masses; Oppose Bureaucratism, Subjectivism and Conservatism; Scrupulously Implement the Principle of Democratic Centralism; and Oppose Liberalism, the Lack of Discipline, the Lack of Democracy and Irresponsibility.

A. We must keep close contact with reality; be sensitive to life; oppose bureaucratism and conservatism; and overcome subjectivism and precipitance.

Keeping contact with reality and the masses, listening to the suggestions of the masses and lower echelons and opposing bureaucratism are matters of basic principle for the ruling party.

The present sluggishness in many important fields, especially the economic field, is deeply rooted in subjectivism, conservatism and bureaucratism, which is a manifestation of one's alienation from the masses in the conditions of the party holding power.

Conservatism usually stems from many factors, including poor understanding of the party's lines, lack of responsiveness to new ideas, failure to stay in touch with reality, alienation from the masses, and failure to listen to the



suggestions of party cadres and members and the masses. Conservatism may occasionally spring from subjectivism and complacency, which may cause one to become insensitive, noncreative and reluctant to be receptive to the creativity of the lower echelons. In those cases where these shortcomings are developed unconsciously, they are normally due to lack of knowledge coupled with little effort in study.

In the economic field, conservatism and bureaucratism are clearly reflected in the maintenance of the apparatus of bureaucratic administration and subsidization and of policies and systems no longer suitable for the new demands of production and life. This apparatus, in its turn, has created more bureaucratism and worsened that already existing in the apparatus itself. It has also created a generation of conservatist, anachronistic, dependent and undynamic cadres. Moreover, it has curbed the capabilities of cadres and has even stifled the initiative and revolutionary dynamism of the masses with its restrictive regulations and irrational policies and systems which do not correctly reflect the party's lines and working-class viewpoint.

Conservatism usually goes hand in glove with bureaucratism, and bureaucratism is often the predominant cause of conservatism. The evil of bureaucratism causes serious bottlenecks in the apparatus; it prevents cadres from getting in touch with the problems of reality, maintaining close relations with the basic units and listening to the views of party members and the masses at the grassroots level, thereby causing the organs on the upper echelons to become unresponsive to reality. This is also a fertile ground for the development of the maladies of subjectivism and precipitance, tendencies which should also be criticized and overcome.

We must oppose bureaucratism among party cadres and members, especially at the upper echelons, among those cadres who often remain indifferent to the boiling demands of production, life and struggle. The evil of bureaucratism manifests itself in many fields, but mainly in the formulation of policies and systems and in organizations and apparatuses and in the work style of cadres.

It is necessary to put an end to bureaucratism and commandism and to the failure to recognize fully the harmful effects of using administrative measures solely instead of economic and educational measures, and of managing the economy with bureaucratic and subsidy-based methods. The funding of all activities with state money has caused the failure of their administrators to calculate the economic results of their operations; instead they wait for complaints from higher echelons. This has resulted in a mechanical application of obsolete and restrictive regulations and the failure to apply set policies and measures and new conditions creatively.

With regard to the ideology and conduct of cadres, it is the practice of bureaucratism and the attitude of officialism that have impeded production, inconvenienced the masses and smothered creative ideas of the lower echelons. We must clearly understand that bureaucratism, as President Ho Chi Minh said, is a sort of internal enemy; or, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin said, it is the very cause of our failure. We must devise hundreds and thousands of measures to combat bureaucratism and conservatism. First of all, we must point out and

seek ways to overcome the detrimental effects of the bureaucratic and subsidy-based administrative system--the cause of bureaucratism in the economic field--together with its influence and impact that have been deeply ingrained in all fields of work and all aspects of social life. Every organ and every sector must find out what those harmful and negative effects are so that measures can be devised to overcome them.

Every party cadre and member must deeply improve his understanding of the party viewpoints on the masses, renounced feudal and conservative viewpoints to increase his confidence in the creative capability of the masses, and clearly recognize the role of the masses, the grassroots units and the great majority of party cadres and members who are strenuously joining the fight in all fields of activities. We must develop a work style that is closely associated with the grassroots level and the masses and enforce the various systems designed to help achieve a close understanding of the lower echelons, grassroots units and reality. Leading cadres of central organs--from the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers to the various departments and ministries--must maintain a close watch over localities experiencing difficulties and over major problems concerning production and life that have yet to be resolved at the grassroots level; and further tighten their grasp of the situation in different regions, especially in the south and the mountainous regions, so as to be able to give guidance, study policies and systems, quickly resolve problems arising at the grassroots level and promptly clear away the existing major restrictions and bottlenecks.

It is necessary to encourage innovations and research efforts; review and popularize progressive models in all fields of activities; give encouragement to cadres who are devoted to their duty and possess great revolutionary ardor; and encourage and assist sectors, localities, units and cadres in developing new innovations so that they will boldly try new things or correct backward things within the scope of their authority. While developing innovations, it is very likely that mistakes and shortcomings will occur. A positive approach is to help cadres of the lower echelons clearly note the shortcomings and inappropriate points with a view to fostering and developing the growth of all the young shoots of innovations, no matter how small they may be.

All organs at the central level must review the actual situation to supplement and revise policies and systems promptly so as to create conditions for the masses' innovations to flourish and for positive factors to multiply as soon as possible.

B. We must scrupulously adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, strengthen discipline and uphold responsibility.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental principle for party building adopted by Lenin. Violating this principle means to weaken the party's organization; and for a ruling party, this leads to the relaxation of dictatorship or to bureaucratic practices and the violation of the laboring people's right to collective mastery.

Combatting conservatism, bureaucratism and subjectivism, supporting the innovations proposed by the lower echelons and grassroots units, and reviewing the

actual situation to renew the managerial system and revise policies and systems are positive manifestations of the enforcement of the principle of democratic centralism as professed by our party and state.

This principle calls for ensuring strict discipline and broad democracy at the same time--with democracy being geared to creating strength and discipline for the organization. Realizing this principle under the condition in which the party holds administrative power means to ensure that the lines, policies and resolutions of the party, the rules concerning party activities, state plans and the laws of the state are formulated appropriately and correctly and carried out scrupulously.

On the basis of clearly defining the system of responsibility of the organization and every individual and clearly dividing responsibility for management between the central and local levels and between higher and lower echelons, we must firmly uphold centralization and broaden democracy.

In our party there are many good examples in the enforcement of the principle of democratic centralism, in the maintenance of party discipline and in the observance of the laws of the state. However, beside good examples and positive aspects there exist negative aspects of liberalism, lack of discipline and absence of democracy. Manifestations of limited democracy or of democracy for form's sake are still prevalent. We must admit that liberalism and lack of discipline have in the past tended to develop due to the difficulties facing the country and the onslaught of the enemy's psychological warfare. A number of party cadres and members have made unwarranted statements about party lines and policies; they have either failed to implement party resolutions or carried out only those points with which they agree, without seeking advice from the higher echelons.

We encourage the holding of discussions, seminars and scientific meetings to enhance the quality of research; but all these activities must be closely directed. We encourage cadres to make their opinions known to the leadership but this must be done in an organized way and for constructive purposes.

The manifestations of liberalism and lack of discipline by a number of cadres are serious, and they are weakening the organizational integrity of the party. This looseness stems from the lack of a principled character and inadequacy in the sense of observing party discipline and state laws. Maintaining party discipline and abiding by the laws of the state are compulsory to all party members; and this is an issue pertaining to party character without exception. To our party, strengthening discipline is all the more a regular problem that must not be considered lightly.

The economy of small-scale production and the protracted guerrilla war have left in many party cadres and members negative impressions concerning ways of thinking, backward habits and customs, an irresponsible work method, egoism, departmentalism, parochialism and the lack of socialist cooperation. Many of our comrades have shortcomings arising from liberalism and the lack of discipline of a big-industry production system and also because they live among a population characterized by small-scale production but fail to pay attention to forging themselves in accordance with the lines and viewpoints of the party.

We realize clearly that genuine democracy must be extended in order to be able to maintain strict discipline, and that good centralization calls for a correct classification of management. Only through a correct managerial mechanism can we secure good discipline. Nevertheless, all party members must always act within the scope of discipline and organization by submitting timely reports to higher authorities for proper comments and by implementing resolutions and directives correctly and creatively.

The Political Bureau resolution on the organizational task has stressed: The discipline of implementing resolutions, making statements and reports for instructions, and preserving the secrets of the party and state must be maintained through various measures to be adopted by each agency and each unit. The party discipline must always be based on the promotion of internal democracy.

In the machinery of our party and state, arbitrariness, despotism and feudalistic paternalism still prevail. In those agencies and units where cadres in charge are affected by the above ills, the initiative, creativity and ability of cadres, party members and the people is usually restrained. They are usually afraid of criticizing the men in charge or, out of fear of losing face, they overlook the shortcomings of agencies and units, especially those of the men in charge. In these agencies and units, collective mastery is merely a matter of formality and the voices of outspoken people who dare struggle openly are often negated. In those agencies and units, cases of opportunism, flattery, sycophancy, playing it by ear and factionalism have normally occurred, damaging solidarity. Subtle revenge against those cadres who dare struggle openly normally cannot be avoided in those agencies and units.

We must admit erroneous phenomena of undisciplined liberty have at times stemmed from the issuance of inaccurate decisions and the failure to carry out decisions on the basis of democracy. We must remedy this undemocratic situation, primarily in the preparation and issuance of decisions by various leading party organs from the central down to the grassroots level, while at the same time maintaining firm discipline in the implementation of decisions.

The formulation of work regulations, the perfection of organization and changes in preparing and issuing decisions by the leading and advisory staff agencies of the party and state are of momentous significance in this connection.

It is necessary to build a pattern by establishing a system for collecting the suggestions of subordinates before making an important decision broadly related to economic and life activities. Strong criticism and strict control should be conducted in order to be able to arrive at conclusions promptly and to take preventive measures in cases of prejudice and revenge against cadres, and severe disciplinary action must be taken against those who have committed these kinds of misconduct.

All party committees and control organs must be extremely resolute, fair and just. All party chapter and committee members must firmly preserve the purity

of the party, defend truth, struggle against vindictive schemes and unjust manifestations which suppress initiative and find fault with and be prejudiced against cadres.

Within the party, while promoting genuine democracy, we must uphold an iron discipline and scrupulously implement the system of criticism and self-criticism from the party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the party committees down to the party chapters.

The education of party members on the principle of democratic centralization must be linked closely to the establishment and implementation of work systems on the basis of changing anew the mechanism of management, especially in the economy.

Within the party there should be indoctrination sessions on party regulations. In these sessions we should concern ourselves with the self-criticism and criticism of upper-level personnel in implementing party regulations concerning the duties and rights of party members, the principle of democratic centralization, the reporting system going from lower up to higher levels and vice versa, and self-criticism and criticism, and so forth.

Strengthening discipline and extending democracy result inevitably from upholding responsibility. We should enhance individual and collective responsibility. It is impossible to prolong the current situation of irresponsibility.

The establishment and improvement of regulations, functions and statutes of organization, determining clearly the responsibility of each echelon, each sector, each organization and each individual constitute essential conditions for the party and state apparatus and every cadre and party member to enhance their responsibility. This task must be done intensively.

In 2 years, 1982 and 1983, we must by all means formulate the organizational statutes of various organs and units from the party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers to the primary establishments, and we must complete the establishment of professional standards for the main positions in each organization.

Along with the organizational measures taken on the ideological front, the promotion of morality to enhance responsibility should be emphasized and not be neglected. Ideological awareness, a sense of collective mastery, revolutionary zeal, a sense of responsibility and a high sense of socialist cooperation always constitute motive forces for vigorously developing the system of responsibility which has already been determined by various organizational measures and has been conditioned by material factors.

To really uphold responsibility, we should assess and evaluate good points by citing, commending and rewarding those organizations and people who have fulfilled their responsibilities well, and should detect shortcomings and determine clearly the responsibility for these shortcomings in order to carry out promptly educational and disciplinary action against those culpable and irresponsible organizations and individuals.

Discipline must be applied equally without exception to all members within the party and the state machinery. Commendations and rewards must be made promptly and justly. The higher the position held by a member and the longer the period he has been trained by the party, the more sternly disciplinary action must be taken if he violates discipline.

If state discipline is infringed upon, administrative measures will be taken while violations of law must be dealt with in accordance with law and not through compromise by members within the party in order to protect one another. The concern of leading agencies and leaders about motivation through moral and material incentives as well as about the maintenance of stern party discipline and state discipline and laws is a matter that should never be neglected.

#### IV. Cultivate Revolutionism Versus Individualism

The leadership qualities of the party and its prestige are in direct relation to its correct line and the effective implementation of this line. But another element which is also very important in ensuring the satisfactory implementation of the correct line and in firmly preserving the party's prestige is the qualities of party cadres and members as reflected in their work performance and in their communal and private lives.

As party members we must struggle tirelessly for our cause, be ready to make sacrifices for it, lead an untainted life, be typical new socialist men--the communists--and set good examples for the masses to follow. Party cadres and members, ranging from members of the party Central Committee to every party member at the grassroots level, must be vanguard and in every way exemplary combatants capable of enlisting the masses' support for the implementation of all the policies of the party and the state.

In the past, when the great majority was surging forward to struggle selflessly for the noble cause of the party and the state, a segment of party cadres and members who had shown a decline in qualities injured the party's prestige and weakened the party's efforts to materialize its line. It is noteworthy that among them there are a number of high- and intermediate-ranking cadres and party members who have spent many years fighting the enemy as far back as before the August revolution and during the resistance against the French.

The decline in qualities, the degradation in lifestyle, and bureaucratic behavior usually stem from individualism. These negative phenomena developed at an alarming rate in a number of cadres due to the fact that they had been influenced by a bourgeois lifestyle and by neocolonialism following the total liberation of the country.

Individualism, together with the influence of bourgeois concepts and of neocolonialism, has destroyed the fighting determination of many party cadres and members who are reported to have misinterpreted the party's policies and have abandoned their duties. Worse still, they have engaged in profitable dealings and have indulged in exploitative and corrupt activities, in demanding bribes, in misappropriating public funds, in acting in complicity with dishonest merchants, in debaucheries and so forth.

Over the past few years, the party has taken severe disciplinary actions against these miscreants and removed them from the party. However, it should be noted that there still exists a number of party cadres and members--including a number of leadership cadres--who have committed such mistakes as lacking a sense of responsibility and breaching ethical codes and who have not yet been severely punished.

One may argue that in the face of life's difficulties and the many negative aspects in society, we must have been handicapped by the absence of uniform and effective economic, financial and educational measures needed to deal with these difficulties in a timely manner. But party members are not allowed to relax their training, to fail their noble role as communist and to stay aloof from their fighting position under any circumstances.

The party must pay attention to organizing systematic indoctrination in President Ho Chi Minh's thoughts, virtues and behavior among the entire party. It is necessary to improve revolutionary enthusiasm, to oppose a decline in qualities, and to guard against individualism and selfishness, that is to value money and illicit interests higher than man's dignity and the ideals of Communist Party members and even higher than the political life of revolutionary fighters.

We must, through realistic actions, reject the false allegation that bureaucracy and degradation are unpreventable ills of the ruling party. It is totally correct that we can prevent this stage of illness by enforcing those uniform measures which we have already laid down. We must pay great attention to improving economic management and to relying on the masses to control our working apparatus. We must increase indoctrination activities and intensify party and state control efforts. We must outlaw all prerogatives and special privileges; strictly prohibit those agencies which have materials and funds at their disposal from creating a system [of special privileges] for themselves and their parties and in depravity; and prevent public funds from being stolen by certain units in order to divide them among their members. Party chapters must closely supervise the enforcement of these prohibitions, must give necessary assistance to those party cadres and members who have difficulties making ends met and must keep in mind that the dignity of party members does not allow them to breach communist ethical codes. An important thing to be emphasized is that the agencies in charge of managing party cadres and members must quickly help these cadres and members correct their shortcomings at the very outset. Party chapters and party committee echelons must scrupulously execute their duty of eliminating from the party anyone--irrespective of his position--who has oppressed the masses and has become corrupt such as by accepting bribes or committing exploitative acts; and must seek every way possible to halt this state of affairs.

#### V. Close the Ranks and Strengthen the Unity Within the Party

Historical experiences learned by our party and by our fraternal parties all show that the invincible strength of the Marxist-Leninist party rests in the unity and unanimity within the party itself.

The unity and unanimity must be based on the correct political line of the party and its organizational and operating principles and must be strengthened with the pure revolutionary sentiments of like-minded people. The traditional unity of the party has always been the main reason for the many victories scored by our party and people.

Over the past few years, as the revolution was reaching a turning point, besides our strong points and achievements we have displayed many shortcomings. In view of these shortcomings and the many difficulties now confronting the revolution, there exist different views within our party about one problem or another in materializing the party line, in appraising the situation and in ascertaining the root causes of shortcomings. It is quite normal to have such different views. What is important is that we must discuss them carefully so that we can correctly appraise our strongpoints and shortcomings, can thoroughly ascertain the root causes of the situation and can integrate those problems regarding theory and practice which create different views. This is to strengthen our unanimity, to solve problems regarding judgment and to introduce those policies which suit the new situation. We are striving to get these tasks done with a determination not to allow this situation to drag on.

In the coming period, the party Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat will work out a program for discussions aimed at reviewing carefully those problems which need a high identity of views and at creating conditions for the participants to make their views heard straightforwardly. This work is very necessary for strengthening unity and unanimity within the party and for improving the party's leadership qualities. We must do it in an organized way in order to solve various problems and to force the mass movement upward.

To ensure party unity it is required that all the party correctly adheres to set organizational principles. Concerning issues on which resolutions have been adopted by the collective, there can be only one will, one opinion and one course of action. Factionalism is absolutely ruled out within the party. Protecting the party's unity as one does the apples of his eyes in accordance with President Ho Chi Minh's instruction is the absolute obligation of all party members. Schisms and factionalisms must be considered as the gravest offenses committed against the party and the people.

In the new situation, an appropriate attitude is required of party members. They must contribute to overcoming difficulties by carefully studying the various problems and present their opinions to the party and must neither make unwarranted statements nor remain indifferent and irresponsible. The discussions of the draft documents prepared by the party Central Committee for presentation to the national congress at congresses held recently at various levels--including the grassroots level--have allowed us to affirm strongly that the great majority of party members consciously care for and protect the party's unity, display an identity of views with the party's correct lines, and know how to use their democratic rights correctly to contribute their opinions to the central level on general problems facing the entire party. This reflects the strength that is derived from our party's unity.



There exist in the party, however, some comrades who, in spite of their good intentions, have shown a lack of objectivism and shortness of patience in directing criticisms at the higher or lower echelons from their own stand-points out of their poor method of thinking or their unsatisfactory attitude and conduct. They fail to see their own shortcomings; nor do they carefully weigh the views of others. They express their opinions without due consideration, thus bringing about a lack of unity. We must help these comrades develop an appropriate way of viewing and resolving problems.

It is dangerous that a number of opportunist elements are taking advantage of the difficulties plaguing the party to carry out their private designs. They criticize the leadership and spread distorted information to create internal confusion. Some opportunists resort to flattery and obsequiousness in a bend-with-the-wind fashion in order to win favor of certain persons. They praise some persons while speaking ill of others in an attempt to sow division and foment factionalism. Factionalism is the very symbol of opportunism. The opportunists are unprincipled in their ideological viewpoints, often sophisticated in their arguments and pragmatic in their actions. We must tighten party discipline and purge the party of opportunist elements who are causing division.

A number of Maoist elements have betrayed the fatherland and joined the ranks of the enemy as its henchmen to oppose and sabotage the revolution. They are trying to approach dissatisfied elements and persons still having doubts about the question of nationalities to divide us internally and are distorting party lines and policies in an attempt to build counterrevolutionary forces to lend a hand to the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in secretly sabotaging us in all fields. We must combat Maoism and expose these Maoist elements who are opposing the party lines and serving as henchmen of the enemy. Our party has fought and is fighting Maoism, as it did during the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. With the recent victory of our struggle against the war of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, we have laid bare the anti-Marxist-Leninist, anti-socialist and anti-national independence nature of Maoism and its ultimate goal of being the center and ruler of the universe.

We must oppose Maoism in a thorough manner and check its influence on the party and the people. The party Central Committee will direct the responsible organs to study Maoist thoughts systematically and more comprehensively so as to make party cadres and members and the people clearly aware of the anti-Marxist, unscientific and deceptive characters of Maoism and its advocates as well as their reactionary scheme of colluding with U.S. imperialism to oppose the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community and the independence of nations; to dispel all allegations aimed at distorting the truth and to check all their acts and schemes of sowing division.

Furthermore, a number of opportunist elements who have been expelled from the party are seeking ways to divide our party internally. They blatantly distort party lines and policies, refute the gains of the revolution, blacken the party's achievements and discredit its international line in a bid to weaken the international solidarity of our party and people with the parties and peoples of fraternal countries. In reality, they themselves are lending a

hand to Maoism to weaken the party. We must smash all such allegations made by them.

#### VI. Ceaselessly Strengthen International Solidarity and Inculcate the Spirit of Proletarian Internationalism in Party Cadres and Members and the People

True to proletarian internationalism, our party always struggles against all tendencies for big-nation chauvinism or nationalist selfishness. It holds that in our time, the legitimate interests of any nation are inseparable from those of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement--of which the Soviet Union is the pillar--and that legitimate patriotism must be closely associated with lofty proletarian internationalism.

Our party has unceasingly consolidated and strengthened the militant solidarity and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, considering it as its principle and its strategy as well as its revolutionary sentiment. The Soviet Union has incessantly assisted us in national construction and national defense. This assistance has been extremely great.

Precisely as President Ho Chi Minh affirmed: by following the road charted by great Lenin--the road of the October Revolution--the Vietnamese people have scored very great victories.

It is exactly because of this that the Vietnamese people's loyalty to and gratitude for the glorious October Revolution, great Lenin and the Soviet people are extremely profound. Our party and people must strengthen forever their militant solidarity and their relations of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. This is also our party's noble proletarian internationalist obligation to the strengthening of the socialist system and the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

Our party has constantly consolidated and strengthened the special relations among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, considering this as a law governing the development of the revolution in the three countries and as a matter of vital significance for the destiny of the three nations. This reflects the pure revolutionary sentiment and the age-old solidarity among the three parties and three peoples. Our party, our state and our people must constantly cultivate this solidarity, this militant alliance and these special relations.

Our party has also ceaselessly consolidated and strengthened the militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation between Vietnam and other countries of the socialist community. It is always grateful for the assistance of the parties, the states and the peoples of various fraternal socialist countries and has unceasingly maintained its sincere sentiments for the brothers who share its ideal. This solidarity and this cooperation represent an invincible strength which no reactionary force can undermine. All the opportunists and reactionaries who are seeking to distort our party's line of international solidarity so as to sabotage this solidarity and cooperation are doomed to failure.

The entire party and people must regard the militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal

socialist countries as a principle and a matter of strategic significance of our party's and state's foreign policy. This also is a condition for the survival of the revolution in our country and an unavoidable obligation to the working class and people throughout the world and to the international communist and workers movement which our party always strives to fulfill.

We must educate party cadres and members and the people so that they may have a profound understanding of our party's internationalist viewpoint and line. We must ceaselessly inculcate in them the spirit of proletarian internationalism and overcome all bigoted nationalism or big-power nationalism. All words and deeds of party cadres and members must be aimed at incessantly contributing to strengthening the party's solidarity and unity and to promoting international solidarity.

Comrades, these tasks and aims of the party's efforts to strengthen the ideological front so as to consolidate the party and to improve the quality of its political leadership are also the main objectives of the education in the party's working class character. Obviously, strengthening the party's ideological front is an immeasurably important factor in creating spiritual and material strength. It is also an extremely important factor in enhancing the quality of the party's leadership and its fighting capacity.

We must enhance the party and scientific character of ideological work so as to make it really effective. The entire party must do ideological work; all party members must do ideological work, clearly see their position on the ideological front and take the initiative to fulfill their own responsibilities.

Party organizations, especially party committee echelons, party chapters, propaganda and training departments and other departments at various levels and in various sectors must carry out ideological work.

They must change their methods of doing ideological work and know how to coordinate all organs, departments, sectors and mass organizations and to use all instruments--information, culture, arts and letters, education and so forth--to carry out this task. They must closely combine propaganda and education with organizational work and with the review of reality in doing ideological work.

#### Continuation of Part II

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[Text] II. Perfect the Party Organizational Structure and Build the Party Ranks To Meet the Requirements of the Two Strategic Tasks

Comrade delegates, perfecting the party organizational structure and building the party ranks to meet the requirements of the two strategic tasks calls for the heightening of all party members' determination and consciousness in the fulfillment of the following specific duties of organizational work:

1. Strengthen the party's leading role in close coordination with the development of the effectiveness of state management and the exercise of the working people's collective mastery.

The fact that the Marxist-Leninist party's role has become increasingly important is a general law in the socialist revolution. The vital and urgent task currently facing our party is to improve the quality of party leadership, especially in the economic and social spheres. To carry out this task satisfactorily and to build and defend the country, it is imperative for the party to lead, build and strengthen at all cost the state apparatus and to develop most satisfactorily the effectiveness of the state apparatus while, at the same time, taking care of and consolidating its organizations and improving the quality of the mass organizations' activities.

The party's statutes have specified and the new constitution has systematized the basic contents of the principle of the party's leadership, working people's collective mastery and the state's management. This is a basis for continuing to concretize the party-state relationship at each level and in each sector and unit into work principles, systems and practices in order to settle correctly specific problems pertaining to the relationship between party organizations and state organs and between the state and the people.

A. The party leads all organizations in the system of dictatorship of the proletariat. It leads the state and mass organizations in a comprehensive manner through its lines and policies, through its resolutions and directives on the struggle objectives, guidelines and major policies, through its main measures and through major tasks related to the organization and work system of the state. It decides the most important tasks related to organization and cadres.

The party exercises its leadership through political education work, through the organization and motivation of the masses and by making each party member be in the van of the implementation of the party's lines and policies.

The party exercises its leadership through its control of administrative organizations and other organizations in the system of dictatorship of the proletariat, through the implementation of the party's lines, policies and resolutions and state laws and through a close coordination of activities of party, state and mass organizations. This is aimed at developing the combined strength of the entire system of dictatorship of the proletariat and at directing this strength at the common goals.

On the basis of the above general principles, we must consider the characteristics of each echelon, each kind of organization and each field of activity in setting forth practical and appropriate--and not mechanical and simple--requirement for leadership of party organizations. It is necessary to hold firm to and strengthen the party's leadership. Party leadership must not be slackened. We must understand that party leadership is always exercised on the basis of full development of the effectiveness of state management and on the basis of ensuring that the state does not passively and incompletely carry out tasks laid down by the party.

The state's managerial role must be heightened. Reality shows that the party will be able to score achievements in managing the economy and society only if it knows how to strengthen the state apparatus and consciously heighten the managerial role of the state, the main function of which is to concretize and

systematize the party's lines, policies and guidelines into state plans, laws, regulations and specific measures, and to organize their implementation.

Carrying out management through laws is a managerial method of the state. In addition to this method, the state carries out management through education, organization, motivation and persuasion. A major requirement for ensuring the state's managerial function now is to strengthen socialist laws vigorously and quickly.

The state must carry out management comprehensively and know how to operate its apparatus harmoniously and effectively. State laws, policies, regulations and systems must be complied with scrupulously by everyone, especially party cadres and members.

Party organizations cannot and must not do the work of state organs. Party committee echelons must fully develop the state role in organizing the implementation of the party's resolutions. At the same time, they must intensively use state organs in coordinating with the various departments of the party [Central Committee] to give advice to the party. We must overcome the tendency to underestimate the state role, a tendency which is still prevalent at many echelons and in many sectors.

B. It is necessary to overcome resolutely and definitely the long-existing confusion of functions between party and state organs. At the central level, it is necessary to define more clearly economic and social tasks that need to be submitted to the party Central Committee Political Bureau for approval. The responsibility of the party Central Committee Secretariat for the preparation of the decisions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau must also be clearly defined. Meanwhile, the Secretariat's responsibility for controlling the activities of central-level state organs must be further strengthened. On this basis, the responsibility and power of the Council of Ministers and ministries must be developed.

In ministries, the setting up of party affairs committees was practical immediately after the unification of the country and when party committees of government organs were not yet consolidated. However, the existence of these party affairs committees has produced a negative effect in that they have not heightened the prestige and responsibilities of state organs. Moreover, their existence has resulted in the unclear definition of the responsible cadres' responsibilities.

To more clearly define the system of responsibility in state organs, we will not set up party affairs committees in ministries and services. In the ministries we will implement correctly the system of heads by setting up a ministerial collective or council composed of the related minister, vice ministers and a number of members according to state regulations. This collective will serve as a staff organ for the minister.

The Council of Ministers will clearly specify the requirements for tasks which should be brought to the ministerial collectives for discussion, and will set forth other necessary regulations to ensure that, while developing fully the responsible cadres' responsibilities, the ministerial collectives will be able to prevent authoritarianism, carelessness and lack of a sense of collectivity,

especially in matters concerning duties, plans, policies and major tasks related to the organization of cadres.

In bureaus, it is also necessary to define clearly the interaction between heads of bureaus and their deputies in accordance with the above guidelines applied to ministries.

The party's control task in ministries and bureaus must be strengthened by increasing the responsibilities of departments of the Central Committee and all party committee echelons and assigning appropriately secretaries and leading cadres to party committees of state organs. We must ensure the quality of control of party committees and chapters of state organs according to specific regulations to be set forth by the Central Committee.

The promotion of party cadres in a ministry or bureau must be decided by a competent collective, or it must be approved according to the party Central Committee's specifications.

Ministers and bureau directors will be entrusted by related party committee echelons with helping secretaries of party committees of units and establishments subordinate to ministries or provinces and municipalities thoroughly understand the duties and other activities of sectors and units, improve their economic and technical knowledge and coordinate with local party committee echelons in formulating and implementing plans for training and improving the grassroots-level party committee secretaries in their knowledge of economic, specialized and technical management.

Party Central Committee departments are responsible for helping the Central Committee hold firm to, help and control party organizations of units, establishments and major joint production and trade organs.

In localities, the general guidelines for party committee echelons are to do away with their administrative style of behavior and their practice of encroaching on others' work and authority, and to help state organs take initiative in exercising leadership of production and trade and organizing and managing the people's life. Party committee echelons must have a firm grasp of new, major problems and main tasks in order to adopt policies for leading and controlling the settlement of these problems and tasks. Intensively carrying out the party-building task, control work and the task of improving cadres and making arrangements for the assignment of cadres are mainly designed to ensure the party's leadership. Party committee echelons are known for their practice of holding meetings to discuss and decide everything, including the assignment of party committee members to supervise the implementation of tasks in place of administrative organs, while the latter do not decide their own work or do it just for form's sake. This must be put to an end.

A system of heads must be set up in establishments such as industrial enterprises, construction sites, farms, schools and hospitals. In these establishments, great attention must be paid to improving the quality of the party's leadership. Party committees must take care of such tasks as building the party, motivating the people and educating party members and the people politically and ideologically. They must carry out leadership of the emulation

movement and motivate the people to develop innovations and discover and apply scientific and technical achievements and advanced experiences to production. They must enforce labor discipline intensively and urge workers to improve the quality of products, to practice thrift, to protect public and collective property and to oppose bureaucratism, waste and corruption.

Exercising their leading functions, basic party organizations must make units and establishments thoroughly understand the party's resolutions and directives and discuss measures for their implementation with them. They must link the party-building task to economic and specialized tasks to develop the combined strength in units and establishments. They must train and improve the contingent of grassroots cadres, make arrangements for the assignment of key cadres and decide on the promotion of these key cadres under their management, struggle against negativism and direct all their activities toward the goal of units and establishments--fulfilling and overfulfilling the state plan.

Basic party organizations are responsible for controlling the activities of managers and managerial organs and ensuring that the party's lines, policies and resolutions and state laws are understood thoroughly and implemented scrupulously and effectively.

Basic party organizations will not decide on specific norms of plans and measures concerning production and specialized and technical work, which are under the managerial responsibility of heads of units and establishments.

Heads of units and establishments and managerial organs must report their activities to related party committees according to set regulations and at their request. Party committees must point out to unit and establishment heads the weaknesses and strengths which have been noticed in the control of their work, and then suggest to them ways of studying and eliminating deficiencies. They must also help correct deviations from the party's resolutions and state laws.

The head of a unit is responsible for formulating its socioeconomic or professional plans. Basic party organizations must lead the masses in participating in the formulation of plans before the competent upper echelons decide on them. To do so, these organizations must have a firm grasp of the real situation, point out latent capabilities and discover the innovations carried out by the masses, including those in the economic and technical fields. They must also point out new factors in the spirit, policies, organizations, and so forth, which should be brought into play to give an active and scientific character to the formulation of plans and to ensure that the party's lines and policies are fully reflected in these plans.

The head of a unit must report to the party committee concerned on his projects and plans, listen to the committee's suggestions so as to improve his plans, and report to the echelon with the authority to examine and approve those suggestions for plans on which agreement has not been reached.

We must improve the leadership of the basic party organization in those units implementing the system of heads according to these guidelines so as to prevent

the state of persons in charge from leaning and relying on the collective of party organizations and to promote the system of heads while improving the quality of party organizations' activities.

Strengthening the work related to the party and the masses by no means lowers the role of party organizations. In keeping with this spirit, the party Central Committee suggests that the congress further clarify a number of questions in the party statutes concerning the responsibility for leadership and control of the party organizations in these organs and units implementing the system of heads.

On the basis of the general regulations of the party statutes, the Central Committee should adopt specific regulations for responsibilities and systems to ensure the satisfactory implementation of the new regulations and to prevent deviations.

C. The mass organizations, with their functions of organizing, educating and motivating the masses to implement the lines and policies of the party and the state under the party's leadership, and with the state's cooperation and assistance, are the representatives of the masses' collective mastery, they are also the ones who collect the opinions and aspirations of the masses in their circles, their classes and their age brackets and convey them to the party and the state.

The mass organizations must participate in building the party and the state apparatus, help control the implementation of the party's lines and policies by party members and state cadres and employees, and fulfill their obligations to the working people.

We should overcome the tendency to belittle the role of the mass organizations and mass-motivation work in the conditions of the party holding power. Such a tendency must be considered a manifestation of the evils of bureaucratism and alienation from the masses.

Party committee echelons should overcome their control and to help the work of the mass organizations and their practice of assigning specific tasks to these organizations only when necessary. This state of affairs has prompted many bodies of the mass organizations to operate in an uncoordinated and perfunctory manner, and has prevented the masses' views and aspirations from being collected and systematically conveyed to the party. It has also limited our capacity to rally the masses and to enhance their activity implementing party and state resolutions as well as in the struggle to overcome the negative aspects of society through the activities of the mass organizations.

Party committees from the central to the grassroots level should establish a system for working with the party groups in the mass organizations. Each mass organization should convey the masses' opinions and aspirations to the party and the state and systematically analyze and report to the central and party committee echelons the masses' attitude toward the various policies of the party. Systems must be devised to compel party and state organs to answer to the masses about the suggestions they have made through the executive



committees of the mass organizations. Systems must also be instituted to enable the comrades in charge of the trade unions, the youth unions and the women's unions to participate in and to express their views at the meetings of the party Central Committee Secretariat and the standing committees at various levels when their discussions are related to launching mass movements and to the work of the mass organizations.

Mass organizations, especially the trade unions and youth unions, must be guided in their role of participating in economic management and inspecting the affairs of state. Such activities must be developed into a system and institutionalized into law. We must stress the responsibilities of party organizations and trade unions in building the working class and in training cadres and workers for the party, and the responsibility of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to fulfill its role as an assault force in carrying out all revolutionary tasks and as a reserve unit of the party.

Efforts must be made to consolidate the organizational structure of mass organizations. In particular, attention must be given to improving the quality of their activities and to consolidating and developing basic units in order to ensure that the mass organizations, especially the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the trade unions, the women's union, the peasants' associations in the south and the Fatherland Front, will fulfill their responsibilities as clearly prescribed in the political report of the party Central Committee.

We welcome the great contributions made by the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the various mass organizations to the anti-U.S. struggle in the past and to the current cause of building and defending the fatherland. However, each mass organization must surge forward to fulfill its own responsibilities even more satisfactorily in order to guarantee the right to collective mastery of the people whom it represents.

The party and state must enforce positive measures to overcome a situation in which the laboring people's right to collective mastery is seriously infringed upon in many aspects of their political, spiritual, cultural, economic and social life. Attention must be given to systematically making the masses understand the party lines and policies, the law and the socialist legal system, the rights and obligations of citizens; the general situation of the country, the difficulties and advantages of the party and the state in the revolutionary undertaking, and the knowledge of the masses' participation in party building and in the building of the administration at the grassroots and other levels through the activities of mass organizations, people's councils and economic establishments, and we must develop this into a system.

The mass movement to carry on the three revolutions reflects the awareness of and capability for collective mastery; and it is the combined result of the party's leadership, the state's managerial work and mass organizations' activities. We must initiate mass movements at the grassroots level in a very satisfactory manner on the basis of applying the profit-and-loss accounting system and socialist business methods, closely combining economic with educational and administrative measures, correctly integrating the three interests and through this, gradually enhancing the masses' role as masters.

## 2. Consolidate the party Central Committee and the party committee echelons.

Our party has been forced through a long course of struggle. Of the members of the party Central Committee and party committee echelons, especially those from the provincial level on up, the majority are trained and tested comrades who are politically stable, rich in practical experience and absolutely loyal to the party, the fatherland and proletarian internationalism. This is fundamentally good. However, there are also weaknesses. Many comrades are advanced in age and physically frail, and their economic and technological knowledge is limited.

The structure of the party Central Committee and its division of labor do not fully reflect the need for improvement in the capabilities for organization and implementation in accordance with the party's organizational system. There are too many members of the Political Bureau and of the standing committees of some party committee echelons serving in state organs.

The party Central Committee Secretariat and the standing committees of the various party committee echelons do not have enough comrades responsible for party work in the economic field--the most crucial field of the socialist revolution. The appointment of too many members of the Political Bureau to posts in the Council of Ministers does not allow the Political Bureau sufficient time to study and promptly resolve strategic issues and major policies or to review issues concerning party lines and theories.

The composition of the party Central Committee and of various provincial and city party committees fails to reflect the character of succession in building the organs of leadership for the party. Nearly 100 percent of the members of the party Central Committee joined the party before or during the resistance against the French. More than 90 percent of the members of provincial and city party committees joined the party before the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and more than 62 percent of the members of these committees gained party membership before 1954.

Shortcomings committed by the party in its economic leadership appear to be partially due to the composition of party committee echelons. It is necessary to change the composition of the party Central Committee and other party committee echelons and in their methods for division of labor in order to overcome the above shortcomings.

The party Central Committee suggests that the congress pay attention to demands for improving the leadership qualities of the central level in the economic and social fields and for lowering the average age of the members of the party Central Committee. The party Central Committee should include those comrades who have participated in party activities since the pre-August revolution period and those comrades who participated in the anti-French and anti-U.S. wars of resistance, who have practical work experience, who are well aware of Marxism-Leninism, who possess knowledge and abilities for economic, cultural, scientific and technical management, and who meet prescribed political standards. As for composition, the party Central Committee should include more cadres from the working class, and more female and ethnic cadres.

To improve the leadership qualities of the party Central Committee and to develop the leadership efficiency of the Council of Ministers Standing Committee, it is necessary to reduce the number of party Central Committee Political Bureau members serving as vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers; and to select young and healthy comrades with good leadership and execution skills to replenish the party Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers Standing Committee.

Over the past few years various provincial, city, district and town party committee echelons have made great progress with great efforts. Many party committee echelons and party committee members, especially those in the south, have matured very fast in their economic and cultural leadership.

To overcome existing general weaknesses of various party committee echelons, after following this national VCP congress the party congresses at various levels must unreservedly bring into their related party committee echelons young comrades, female cadres and those comrades who possess a good knowledge of economic and technical management, who have good organization and implementation ability, who are renovation-minded, who know how to ascertain and scrupulously comply with the party's policies and line, and who have demonstrated their absolute loyalty to the party and the revolutionary cause.

Although we need many more party committee members to work at the lower echelons and the grassroots level, we must observe quality standards and avoid the popular belief that whoever is a party committee secretary of a lower echelon will be a member of the party committee of the next higher echelon.

Each echelon must devise plans and positive measures to train workers to become party committee members. We must be determined to revise our belief in men entering the party executive committees at various levels. We must not regard party committee echelons as places where one can be promoted, enjoy satisfactory treatment and ally with one another to form something like an association.

One may be brought in or removed from a party committee echelon as required by tasks. This is an ordinary thing.

Many comrades who have performed good deeds and who previously proved to be effective in developing the collective leadership of their party committee echelons have now refused to stand for reelection due to their current state of health and capabilities, thus letting themselves be replaced by new comrades who are in better condition to perform the work more efficiently. We highly appreciate their concern for the common cause, and we must adopt correct policies toward them.

The capacity of the party committees of provinces, municipalities, districts, precincts, cities, and so forth to organize the implementation of work related to the party and the masses should be strengthened by changing the division of labor in the executive and standing committees, increasing the number of standing members who have exclusive charge of party work, reducing the number of comrades working in the people's committees whenever this number is large, and

clearly defining the responsibilities of the party secretary and deputy party secretary for daily work. The party secretary and his deputies must take exclusive charge of party work.

The composition of the party committee echelon must be designed to ensure its leadership over all fields of activities and to reflect its requirements and responsibility for leadership in building the economic structure within its territory and in meeting the need to strengthen the leadership of cultural, defense and security activities and of the work related to the party and the masses in its locality, including the units managed by the upper echelons.

In keeping with this spirit, the composition of many party committee echelons should be changed and the average age of party committee members lowered. Strengthening district party committees must be emphasized to meet the urgent demands of leadership in building the districts into ones equipped with an agroindustrial structure and into combat fortresses according to the specific locality, including the units managed by the upper echelons.

In keeping with this spirit, the composition of many party committee echelons should be changed and the average age of party committee members lowered. Strengthening district party committees must be emphasized to meet the urgent demands of leadership in building the districts into ones equipped with an agroindustrial structure and into combat fortresses according to the specific location and character of each type of district.

Precinct party committees should be strengthened so as to be capable of leading the tasks entrusted to them in the precincts. In particular, utmost attention must be given to strengthening the organization and capacity of precinct party committees so that they may lead the work related to the party and the masses in those basic units located in the precincts whose party organizations and made directly subordinate to the precinct party committees.

Importance must be attached to strengthening municipal and city party committees. First of all, we must strengthen the party committees of Hanoi Municipality, Ho Chi Minh City and Haiphong Municipality to match the status of the capital and these municipalities. We must strengthen the municipal party committees of important industrial zones such as Da Nang, Bien Hoa, Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri, Hon Gai, Vinh, and so forth. More comrades endowed with the capacity for and the knowledge of leading and managing industry, artisan and handicrafts, professional and service operations and public safety must be assigned to these municipal party committees so that they can lead all fields of activities in their municipalities and industrial zones.

In the municipalities directly subordinate to the central government and the municipalities and cities subordinate to the provinces in which industrial zones are established, we should introduce into the party committees more capable cadres working in various organs, especially in the basic units located in the localities but directly subordinate to the central government. This is intended to improve the quality of the party committees' leadership in party work and in state management in their localities.

In provincial and municipal party committees, there should be more cadres who work in various production and business establishments and unions of production enterprises.

Members of the Central Committee and various party committee echelons must typify the intellect of the entire party of each party organization and must truly be capable of contributing to the collective leadership of the executive committees.

A work system should be instituted to enable the members of the party executive committees at all levels to fulfill their responsibilities and bring into play their capabilities in collective leadership. Aside from the executive committee meetings, we should study other forms of organizing activities and work, such as through committees and subcommittees, so that members of the Central Committee and the provincial and municipal party committees can participate in making preparations for the conferences of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, or the party committee echelons and their standing committees on important fields of activities.

The quality of the leadership of various party committee echelons depends not only on the party committee echelons themselves; it is also very much dependent in the quality of preparatory work of the party's and the state's staff organs. For this reason, strengthening the staff organs is very much a key factor in ensuring the quality of the collective leadership of the Central Committee and the various party committee echelons.

It is necessary to consolidate and employ in a satisfactory manner the various departments of the party Central Committee and the party committee echelons; to correctly appoint heads and deputy heads of departments; and to staff these departments with truly qualified and capable cadres. The apparatus of these departments must be well organized. The comrade department heads and the comrade members of the party Central Committee Secretariat in charge of departments must personally guide the streamlining of the apparatus of those departments for which they are responsible. It is not necessary for a department to be broken down into offices. Some departments only need to be staffed with a department head, his deputies and a number of teams of experts. It is not necessary for a lower echelon to have the same number of departments as the higher echelons.

We must satisfactorily consolidate and utilize the staff organs of the state and establish a system that will allow the various departments to employ collaborators in order to improve the quality of work and streamline their organizations.

Our party has hitherto always paid special attention to strengthening its leadership over the VPA. For almost 4 decades, historical realities have proven that party leadership is the key factor which has determined all the successes and the maturity of the people's armed forces. The national situation and the revolutionary tasks in the new stage require that we continue to build a powerful revolutionary people's army with an ever-increasing level of standardization and modernization. In order to meet the requirements for building the army and consolidating national defense and the requirements of

the people's war for the defense of the fatherland, we must further strengthen party leadership over the armed forces and, at the same time, must fully implement the system of one-man command so as to ensure that commanders can fully develop their responsibilities in carrying out the tasks entrusted by the party and state, display initiative in selecting courses of action and coping with all eventualities, and make accurate and timely decisions, and that the troops can operate with determination and urgency to win victories and fulfill their missions satisfactorily.

The party assumes direct, centralized and unified leadership over the armed forces in the political, ideological and organizational fields. It constantly seeks to enhance the working-class nature of the army and make it boundlessly loyal to the fatherland and socialism, closely united around the party Central Committee, deeply committed to the laboring people, absolutely responsive to the party's leadership, ready to fight and fight victoriously to defend firmly the socialist fatherland, and eager to work for national construction and to fulfill international obligations.

The party Central Committee proposes that the congress amend Article 12 of the party statutes and entrust the party Central Committee with the task of defining specific regulations for organizing party leadership over the VPA.

It is necessary to set up a central department subordinate to the Political Bureau to assist the central level in the management of cadres belonging to the armed and security forces, and in carrying out other necessary tasks required by the central level.

### 3. Perfect the state apparatus.

The current major task is to build the state according to the requirements for establishing a new economic structure and adopting new managerial methods. The three basic requirements for the perfection of the state apparatus consist of establishing a new managerial system, modifying the party and state's work methods and assigning cadres to the right places.

The recent party and state decisions based on Resolution No 10 of the party Central Committee and Resolution No 32 of the Political Bureau mark the initial stage in perfecting the state apparatus in accordance with the above requirements. It is necessary to continue to establish these resolutions so that they will be implemented satisfactorily.

Establishing a new managerial system is a very important task aimed at intensively organizing the implementation of the party's resolutions and improving the effectiveness of state management. In a few years emphasis must be placed on strengthening forces and motivating organizations to embark on studying this task in a relatively uniform manner, especially in the economic sphere. This is necessary to accelerate the perfection of the state apparatus and the production and trade activities of units and establishments.

We must perfect at all costs the joint managerial organs, especially the State Planning Commission and the economic information system. We must also perfect

scientific research institutes, main research and planning programs and management draft laws, policies and regulations of the various managerial ministries and economic and technical sectors. These organizations and programs are very important because they determine the effectiveness of state management, create the necessary conditions for leading the network of production and trade units onto the profit-and-loss accounting track, and adopt correct guidelines for developing active units and establishments and perfecting them.

While paying attention to perfecting economic organs and units, we must be aware of the new requirements for strengthening national defense and security. We must build an ever stronger army. In order to increase its fighting strength and heighten its combat readiness, we must improve the effectiveness of the party-building task and the political task in the army, in addition to strengthening the party's leadership over the army. We must fully implement the system of individual command and close management of the army in all domains.

We have continued to commit many shortcomings in social management. We must improve the quality of security organs and people's security forces and ensure that persons selected to these organs and forces meet set criteria. Party committee echelons and secretaries are dutybound to closely control security organs and people's security forces and to exercise direct leadership of their perfection and consolidation.

Great attention must be paid to leading and improving qualitatively those organs in charge of ensuring the implementation of state laws, such as organs of control, courts, the judicial sector and economic arbitration organs.

Scientific, information, cultural, social, educational, literary and art management organs play a very important role in the acceleration of the three revolutions and the struggle against the enemies. To neglect cultural and social leadership and to fail to strengthen these organs satisfactorily means to get rid of very important tools for building new men, a new generation and a new life and to waste a great potential in the struggle to prevent and eliminate negative aspects of society.

In the network of state apparatus, our party pays attention to ensuring that the people-elected state organs of authority fulfill their responsibilities and maintain their power under the party's leadership. This spirit must be developed more thoroughly among all party committee echelons.

The operational strength of the state should be reflected in the legal system which must at the same time be persuasive and compulsory for the entire society. In the last analysis, the law institutionalizes party lines and policies, but we must not mistake lines and policies for the law.

We must pay the utmost attention to the law, plan the formulation of laws and prevent violations of the law. A pressing problem at present is to pay attention to economic, criminal, labor and civil laws. Efforts must be made to build step by step a perfect legal system and to make all party cadres and members--first of all key cadres--strictly abide by the law.

While perfecting the state apparatus, a crucial problem is to resolutely streamline the apparatus and lighten the organization, especially the administrative organization. This must be done on the basis of eliminating the bureaucratic and subsidy-based system of administration, revising labor policies, adopting policies to encourage heads of units to employ less personnel without affecting work efficiency, clearly establishing positions and defining their professional standards, carrying out new plans and measures for selecting students for admission to colleges and secondary vocational schools from the grassroots level, promulgating at an early date specific policies and systems designed to resolve cases which make it necessary to separate personnel from the organization, and so forth.

It is necessary to put an end to a situation in which every unit head is voicing his complaints about the cumbersome nature of the organization but readily sets up more offices for his own organ and either expands or maintains its table of organization. Strict control of the establishment of new organizations and the recruitment of new personnel must be enforced. A study must be conducted on dissolving unnecessary organizations or recombining those organizations must be absolutely consistent with the regulations on the consideration for and approval of organizations; and the recruitment of new personnel must be done in strict accordance with the professional standards.

4. Strive to perfect basic party organizations while stepping up the building of districts and precincts, perfecting grassroots units, building and consolidating joint production establishments and launching mass movements.

We praise the great efforts made by the basic party organizations in all fields. It is from the grassroots level that many rich experiences reflecting the set lines have been gained; and they are worth reviewing. However, these efforts still fall short of the requirements of the heavy tasks of the revolution. Basic party organizations still display weaknesses in many respects. It is always the primary responsibility of the entire party to enhance the fighting strength, initiative, creative character and steadfastness of basic party organizations, especially party chapters, in order to make them worthy of their position and importance.

The existence of basic party organizations that have remained weak and lagged behind for a long time requires that the fundamental causes of this problem be dealt with in a comprehensive and radical manner. The resolutions of the party Central Committee and the Political Bureau on organizational work have attributed these causes to the leadership of the higher echelons, especially shortcomings in the system of economic management, and to the shortcomings of the basic party organizations themselves, and have correctly set forth uniform measures for steadily advancing the basic party organizations. It is necessary to carry out these resolutions properly.

In the new situation, basic organizations of every type must determine even more clearly their own responsibilities toward the two strategic tasks, strengthen their leadership over military and security forces, develop the reserve forces, implement the various army rear policies, heighten revolutionary vigilance and assign capable and experienced key cadres to firmly



control the militia and self-defense forces, the reserve forces and the people's security forces in order to ensure that they are ready to fight and win.

A. We must, through the movement to build the district and consolidate the grassroots level, perfect the basic party organizations in rural areas and link the building of the districts with this effort. Our party's policy to develop districts along the line of combining agriculture with industry, or forestry with agriculture and industry, or fisheries with agriculture and industry, and to build them into fortresses for the defense of the fatherland is a correct strategic policy which we have failed to implement satisfactorily over the past 5 years. It is necessary to urgently step up the building of districts in the 1981-85 5-year period and in the 1980's. In accordance with the prescribed orientation, all districts must strive with their own existing land, natural resources, labor and material and technical facilities, to become progressive districts in the next 5 years; and the currently progressive districts must surge forward to achieve higher targets in the economy and life.

To build the districts, all central organs and provinces and municipalities must classify districts into economic zones and guide them in adopting production lines suitable for each zone with the aim of creating highly productive zones--grain, raw material for industry and products for export--along the direction of gradually advancing to socialist large-scale production. We must help each district take inventory to firmly assess the local availability of land, labor, equipment and material and technical facilities so as to adopt suitable orientations and plans for developing agriculture, fisheries and forestry and so forth, small industry and handicrafts, promote the various branches and trades, project targets and set forth measures concerning life, culture and social welfare. Proceeding from this, we must encourage the local masses and establishments to strive to build the district chiefly through their own efforts, without relying on assistance from higher echelons.

On the basis of these planning orientations, plans must be made to train, foster and deploy cadres, especially key cadres, and perfect the organization of district party committees, people's committees and mass organizations along with perfecting production and business establishments, stations and farms within the district.

Organs at the central, provincial and municipal levels must, on the basis of the plans formulated by the districts, decentralize management and actively and urgently create conditions for the districts to take the initiative in the management of economic, cultural and other activities. We must help the districts develop projects and plans for quickly deploying a contingent of specialized cadres who are qualified to fill positions ranging from secretary and chairman to sector cadres and basic unit cadres, in accordance with the requirements of each district's economic and national defense tasks.

Attention must be given to training cadres locally while reinforcing the districts with capable and qualified cadres from the central, provincial and municipal levels. Efforts must be concentrated on assisting and strengthening districts which possess great economic potentials or are strategically located for national defense.

The central, provincial and municipal levels must organize guidance for and co-ordination among the various departments and sectors in directing the building of districts; and must improve their guidance for the districts and basic party organizations.

Along with building the districts and consolidating production establishments, attention must be given to building and perfecting party chapters and village and cooperative party committees in order to make them really clean, firm and strong. It is necessary to prevent corruption, oppression of the masses, dereliction of duties and failure to implement party resolutions among party cadres and members at all costs; and to introduce measures for bringing about a turn to the better in weak and lagging basic party organizations.

Party chapter committees in villages and cooperatives must hold firm to the party's viewpoint, lead the three revolutions satisfactorily, accelerate the movement for improvement of management, implement the new contract system in cooperatives and build production collectives in the south in order to lead agriculture in advancing along the party's line. On the basis of these tasks and other mass movements, they must control and improve the quality of party members, correctly assign cadres, improve them qualitatively, consolidate and strengthen party organizations, develop positive factors and struggle against negativism. They must also prevent such old and bad customs as superstition and intensively educate party cadres and members and people ideologically and politically. They must study and organize party activities for party members, using each hamlet as a unit in places where a hamlet has several party chapters, in order to discuss necessary tasks at the hamlet level.

In strengthening party organizations in many areas of the south and in many villages of mountainous provinces and border regions, there must be special measures. In these places, provincial and district party committees must send delegations of cadres to seek to understand the situation and help grassroots party organizations determine tasks, objectives and measures. They will help party chapters and organizations [dqangr booj] build at all cost a contingent of core cadres and, through the socialist transformation task, consolidate and perfect the new production relations and make preparations for combat readiness.

In villages of the southern and mountainous regions, if a hamlet does not have a party chapter or party cell, a loyalty cell [toorr trung kien] must be set up and given the responsibility of a party cell.

Attention must be paid to strengthening the precinct and municipal levels in order to carry out intensive leadership and management of small industry and handicrafts, service activities and other aspects of life such as culture, order and security in precincts and municipalities. Precinct and municipal party committees must pay due attention to strengthening basic party organizations in the above domains. In precincts, efforts must be concentrated on consolidating and strengthening city wards. The Council of Ministers must study and specify more clearly the contents of the ward level's cultural, economic and social activities.

B. In state-run enterprises, to ensure the implementation of a new managerial system we must not delay in determining the criteria of duties of managers, deputy managers and other key cadres and reorganizing the force of cadres from top to bottom and vice versa. This is necessary to overcome the situation wherein many managers and deputy managers have been appointed not in accordance with the current requirements of tasks.

Ministries must immediately formulate and organize the implementation of plans for opening refresher courses for managers and deputy managers of enterprises to further improve their managerial capability. This must be done in coordination with the sending of cadres to weak enterprises in order to quickly remedy the present serious situation: Only less than 30 percent of the enterprise managers have finished economic management refresher courses, and nearly 50 percent of managers of central-level enterprises have not yet attended technical middle school or college.

Economic managerial institutes and related departments [of the Central Committee] must provide guidance and supervision of the improvement of enterprise managers and deputy managers in economic management.

Enterprise managers must hold firm to the party's lines and policies, must show improvement in economic management and must possess necessary specialized and technical knowledge. They must be comrades who dare to assume responsibilities, who display a high party character, who adopt the viewpoint of the masses, who rely on the masses and who respect the role of party organizations. They must not take advantage of the implementation of the system of heads to become subjective, arbitrary, dictatorial and undisciplined.

In many localities, the specialized knowledge of enterprises party committee secretaries is very much inferior to that of the managers; and many enterprises need specialized party committee secretaries who are not currently available. Party committee echelons must coordinate with ministers in quickly remedying this situation.

According to the guidelines for renovating economic management, various forms of production partnership such as joint enterprises, corporations and so forth have been established. It is necessary to devise standard operating procedures to ensure the effective implementation of the profit-and-loss economic accounting system by various grassroots-level units and joint production establishments.

Concerning the party organization in these establishments, the party Central Committee will study the organization of leadership for party organs in corporations and so forth have been established. It is necessary to devise standard operating procedures to ensure the effective implementation of the profit-and-loss economic accounting system by various grassroots-level units and joint production establishments.

Concerning the party organization in these establishments, the party Central Committee will study the organization of leadership for party organs in corporations and incorporations so as to be consistent with the new situation. A basic party organization will be set up in each joint enterprise. In case

a component of a joint enterprise is located far from the main unit in a different province or district, the party organization of that component may be placed under the jurisdiction of the party committee of the district or municipality where it operates. Then the joint enterprise party committee will establish relations with the party organization of the distant component and with the local party committee in order to coordinate actions and exchange experience.

Basic party organizations in cultural, educational and scientific and technical installations, especially in higher and vocational schools and research institutes, must embark on strengthening themselves and improving their leadership and control methods in conjunction with the improvement of the specialized and professional management of these installations along the line of enhancing the responsibilities and initiative of the related party organizations.

These basic party organizations, especially in the schools, must pay special attention to developing the young generation in the domains of cultural, specialized and professional knowledge, political qualities and revolutionary ethics, and to preparing and improving youths to become high quality cadres when they enter the real life of production and fighting. This responsibility must not be limited to teaching and to the improvement of the quality of the youth union's activities, but it must be reflected in the education through real acts, in the exemplary role of teachers and party cadres and members and even in the methods of school management and the shaping of a cultural life-style in schools and other installations.

Improving and training teachers in political knowledge, improving the quality of activities of party organizations, trade unions and the youth union and strengthening the managerial apparatus of schools are very important and urgent tasks in educating the young generation. The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, the party Central Committee Science and Education Department and responsible organs must work out proper plans for reorganizing and carrying out these tasks intensively and practically.

Party committees and youth union executive committees in schools must take interest in improving the activity of the union and the various departments of school. They must also pay attention to the content of the education in order to develop positive factors and eliminate negativism among cadres and students.

In people's security units, basic party organizations must be consolidated so they will be strong and pure. They must be the symbol of stalwartness, indomitability, utmost revolutionary vigilance and a high sense of organization and discipline. In other words, they must always be worthy as an unyielding militant vanguard team of the working class in grassroots units.

The organization of the party leadership in the people's security force must be defined by the party Central Committee in such a way as to suit the special character of the people's security force.

At central-level organs, it is necessary to clearly define the purposes and requirements which guarantee the control qualities of the party organizations

in these organs, and to strengthen at all costs their party committees so that they can fulfill their duties in accordance with new requirements.

In general, the party organizations of the central-level organs must receive guidance from both the party Central Committee on major issues--especially those involving the establishment of policies, lines, and viewpoints for the overall tasks and those tasks of these organs--and from the local party committee echelons in areas where these organs are given responsibility for the work related to the party and the masses and for the implementation of those policies now being applied in the localities concerned.

The management of each department must assist the party Central Committee in providing assistance, orientation and control of the activities of the party organizations of these organs, trying to link these efforts with cadre management work.

The party Central Committee Secretariat must assign men and related agencies to quickly disseminate important information on the situation and policies, as well as all the important resolutions and directives of the party, to the party committees of subordinate organs in accordance with prescribed regulations. It must also review experiences on the sending of party members from different organs to participate in the activities of or to work in various city wards, in accordance with the decision of the party Central Committee Secretariat, and must clearly and more practically define the responsibilities of party members in social work, for this is one of the important measures for improving the quality of party members.

The party Central Committee will review and tackle the existing problems in the organization of a leadership system for the party organizations of the central-level organs and of their subordinate provincial and city echelons. It will have to adopt flexible organizational measures to overcome irrationalities.

The strengthening of fundamental party committees and, most importantly, the correct appointment of party committee secretaries and standing members are of decisive importance for improving the leadership qualities of fundamental party organizations.

The party Central Committee must rely on the number of party members, the amount of work and the importance of each fundamental unit to determine regulations governing the appointment of specialized secretaries. These newly appointed secretaries of fundamental units must resign from other positions in the state administration or in mass organizations. The consideration and approval of a wage scale for specialized secretaries and the special treatment policies toward them must be decided by the party organs concerned. Party Central Committee departments must check the performance of party organization secretaries at various ministries, general departments or offices and recommend necessary replacements to the party Central Committee Secretariat or the party committee echelons of these ministries, general departments or offices.

Basic party committees will be allowed to set up their own organization and training sections; and the members of these sections will be selected from those party members who are reliable and who have good workers.

In enterprises, basic party committees must set up subcommittees or control teams to help basic party committee echelons exercise control of the activities of enterprise managers and managerial organs.

#### Conclusion of Part II

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[Text] 5. Enhance the militancy and vanguard role of party members, build a pure and strong contingent of party members.

Our party currently has 1,727,784 members. [Footnote: As of December 1981] This membership includes outstanding militants who have been admitted through many revolutionary generations over the past half century and more. We highly appreciate the party's ranks with their fine revolutionary character, and the sacrifices, efforts and experience of numerous party members, regardless of when they joined the revolution.

In the recent change undergone by the revolution, many party members have steadfastly maintained their revolutionary quality and have quickly improved their capacity for work, thus proving themselves worthy of being vanguard militants and winning the trust and admiration of the masses.

The steadfastness of numerous party members in view of the recent historic turning point and great difficulties attests to the loyalty and experience of the party's ranks. However, in the present ranks of the party, aside from a number of party members who have declined and degenerated but have not yet been expelled, there still is a segment of party members who, in their ideal and action, do not fulfill, even to a minimum extent, their role as communists. Among this number, not a few have really lost the will to fight. In our judgment, this segment is no longer worthy of the title of party member and limits appreciably the fighting capacity of many party organizations.

All party members, regardless of their positions, must be communist militants imbued with an ideal and must act according to the party's lines. In the process of carrying out the party's political tasks through the various mass movements and through the issuance of party cards, we have further improved the quality of party members and have expelled unqualified persons from the party. In many places, however, this task has not been firmly carried out due to an incorrect understanding of party members' standards, sympathy and indulgence, and laxity in guidance by party chapter committees and by upper-level party committees and responsible organs.

Provincial and municipal party committee echelons should control the issuance of party cards and satisfactorily guide the reviewing of this task in each party chapter and each basic party organization. Wherever party cards have been issued in an unsatisfactory manner, the matter must be brought before the party chapters concerned for reconsideration. The masses' opinion on this

matter should be sought, and party cards must be recalled from those persons to whom they were issued incorrectly.

The reviewing of party card issuance must be a broad political activity in the entire party carried out from party chapters upward on the basis of a thorough understanding of the fifth party congress resolution on work related to party members. In this political activity, we shall satisfactorily strengthen party committees; promote internal democracy to control the qualifications of party members; commend the progress made by party members since they received their party cards; and continue to improve the quality of party members and expel unqualified persons from the party.

We should resolutely expel from the party all bad, corrupt, opportunist and degenerate elements whose revolutionary will is paralyzed and who no longer have the masses' confidence.

We should also expel those whose fighting will has declined and weakened, who care only for the interests of their families and their own interests while neglecting the tasks entrusted to them or performing these tasks only perfunctorily, mainly for the purpose of preserving their party member title, and who are no longer capable of leading the masses effectively.

Such persons should not be kept in the party for any reason, even though they may have been credited with achievements in the past, and even though they may have made no mistakes as citizens.

We have for a long time persistently educated these party members. Preserving the party's sentiments for these comrades is a necessity. However, the highest sentiment must still be aimed at serving the interests of the party and the revolution. If we continue to allow such party members to stay in the party, this will only reduce the fighting strength of the party and lower the prestige of party organizations.

The removal of unqualified party members from the party must be strictly carried out and closely guided. Even if many members are to be removed, we must be determined to go ahead without hesitation. By so doing, it is certain that our party will become stronger, its leadership will become better and the masses' confidence in the party will grow much higher.

As for those party members who have poor knowledge and who are physically weak, we must seek ways to patiently help them make progress, assign appropriate jobs to them, and designate competent comrades to help them.

With regard to those party members who cannot make progress to improve their extremely poor awareness despite the education efforts of party organizations, they must be removed from the party.

We must not mistake demoralized and unqualified party members for those aging, physically weak and disabled comrades who are no longer capable of work and deserve rest and convalescence. For the latter, they need only to maintain their revolutionary qualities.

Party development must be carried out permanently and promptly. We must provide active guidance for granting party membership to those who have distinguished themselves in the mass movement, especially those workers who have been enlightened by the party's ideals, been trained and tested, have good political and educational backgrounds and extensive scientific, technical and managerial knowledge.

Since Directive No 72 of the party Central Committee Secretariat was issued, party development activities have improved with respect to ensuring party members' qualities. With this directive, the party has further overcome shortcomings in class concepts and in methods and procedures. But, in general, party development activities are still lagging. In some localities the party has been virtually sealed off, as evidenced by the admission of only a few new members. Many basic party organizations in the southern provinces and in high mountainous areas, though having very few members, have failed to admit new members. Among the members admitted to the party after the fourth party congress, 59 percent have been recruited from the armed forces.

Emphasis must be placed on giving greater attention to building the party ranks within the working class. Many provinces, cities and industrial complexes have made the mistake of neglecting the training of outstanding workers for admission to the party, have not made efforts in inspection, encouragement and in drawing experiences needed for guiding this task, and have failed to correct erroneous thoughts toward workers, especially among those who served under the former regime. In the period ahead, in cities and industrial complexes, the admission of new party members must be focused mainly on the working class.

As many cultural and artistic units and scientific research agencies have paid less attention to seeking party membership for competent writers, artists, literary and artistic researchers, scientists and cadres who have made great contributions to the party and have attached themselves to the latter, these units and agencies must correct these shortcomings, and must direct their attention toward the above targets in recommending party membership.

It is necessary to eliminate the practice by certain localities of granting party membership only to yes men and obedient people. Indeed, they are prejudiced against and have, out of fear, refused to train for admission to the party outspoken people who have the nerve to criticize their units and their supervisors for their shortcomings.

District and precinct party committees and basic party committees must find out outspoken people who have, out of their concern for the common cause, dared to denounce shortcomings and defend the truth; and must seek ways to train and educate them for admission to the party once they are qualified for this.

It is necessary to set a pattern for work related to party development and to link the preparation of programs and plans with efforts to improve the training qualities, activities and operations of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union.

To enhance the quality of the contingent of party members it is required that we simultaneously enforce each of the three measures--removing unqualified



members from the party, recruiting new party members and educating and training party members through work assignments, study sessions, criticism, self-criticism and party discussions. In particular, emphasis must be laid on the need to improve the quality of party chapter activities and regularly maintain the system of party chapter activities. The party chapter must truly be the place where issues concerning party lines, policies and viewpoints are fully discussed; where party resolutions are ascertained and measures adopted for their scrupulous implementation; where a struggle is made in the field of viewpoints and principles for the defense of the party's lines and organization; and where revolutionary will and leadership capability are forged for party members. We must not mistake the activities of party chapters for those of the trade unions, administrative, specialized or service organs, or production units.

It is necessary to make criticisms and self-criticisms frankly and in a spirit of comradeship within the party chapter over issues concerning the party's lines, policies, principles and organization, and the revolutionary quality of party cadres and members. Specific shortcomings that can be rectified through daily mutual assistance should not be allowed to accumulate for criticism at party chapter conferences.

To enhance the quality of party members a crucial problem is to improve the qualifications of key cadres in grassroots units. Party committee members, first of all secretaries of party committees and party chapters, must really possess adequate qualifications and capabilities. They must be trained, guided and checked regularly by higher-level party organizations; and must be subjected to timely supervision and criticism by the party committee as a whole, party members and the masses.

The party Central Committee Secretariat will directly guide the annual program for training secretaries of grassroots party committees and a number of party committee members in general issues that are essential to the leadership of the party; and will charge the provincial and municipal party committees with the task of providing further guidance on points that are of interest to the localities.

The party Central Committee's Propaganda and Training Department will coordinate with other departments to prepare the curriculum for this training program.

6. Train, correctly deploy and refresh the contingent of key cadres from top to bottom in accordance with the cadre plan.

As the cause of socialist revolution and national defense becomes more complex and the leading role of the party keeps expanding with each passing day, the decisive impact of the work related to cadres, especially the fostering, training and deployment of the contingent of key cadres, is felt more strongly.

Practical experience clearly shows that the precision of set lines and the accuracy and success in implementing set lines and policies depend finally on the quality of cadre work.

Our party has been successful in training and deploying the contingent of key cadres who are absolutely loyal to the revolution to meet the requirements of the national and democratic revolution. However, upon entering the new stage, belatedness in the fostering and deployment of cadres to meet the requirements for leadership and economic and social management is now a major shortcoming. With a change in direction of the revolution and the renewal of the system of economic management on the basis of profit-and-loss accounting and socialist business methods, there arises an even more acute need to urgently foster and deploy cadres in accordance with the new requirements. We must carry out this task intensively, but it is necessary to follow a sequence suitable to the scientific character of the process in advancing the socialist revolutionary cause with planning.

A. First, we must constantly pay attention to formulating and carrying out programs and plans for training and fostering cadres. To have enough qualified cadres for positively meeting the requirements of our tasks, the fundamental problem is to develop a cadre plan which will serve as a basis for preparing programs and plans for training and fostering cadres in accordance with both short and long-term requirements--not only for the next 5 or 10 years but also for the more distant future. This is the central link of cadre work as a whole.

The main source of candidates for training to become leading cadres of the party and state consists of cadres who have had practical experience in work, production and combat at the grassroots level. It is necessary to select persons with promising prospects from within the movement and from the working apparatus of each sector for fostering and training.

From a more far-sighted viewpoint, we must create an extensive reserve right at the moment when students are selected for admission to party schools and colleges to be trained into leading, managerial, economic and technical cadres at the grassroots level. In the view of the party, to plan the selection of students is basically to plan their deployment. It is necessary to change the methods for selecting students for admission to the training schools mentioned above. When cadres are to be trained for certain echelons, localities and sectors, attention must be paid to select for training cadres, workers and cooperative members who have been tested in the mass movement and who have fulfilled the military obligation--if they are young men--from those particular sectors and localities.

Attention must be given to overcoming imbalances in the training of scientific-technological cadres and to putting an end to the situation in which cadres are trained and fostered unnecessarily and without calculating the results. It is important to train cadres out of workers, women, ethnic minority people and local cadres for the various localities and establishments, especially in the south and the mountainous regions. Specific and appropriate policies, systems and measures must be devised to promptly train this contingent of cadres.

Along with training new cadres, we must urgently formulate plans to foster a number of incumbent key leading cadres who have not yet had the opportunity to study in accordance with a curriculum suitable to each area and each region;

and must prepare plans to supplement leading cadres with knowledge of new issues concerning theories, lines, policies and economic management, and of new developments of science and technology.

Attention must be attached to overcoming the tendency to neglect the training of students and cadres at party schools in the work conduct, methods for leadership and rules on party activities, and in the organizational structure, the work system and the work procedures of leading cadres. It is necessary to resolutely send leading cadres and their deputies to attend refresher training courses first in accordance with the plan; and to put an end to a situation in which cadres of lesser importance are sent in their stead because their superiors are busy.

#### B. Urgently deploy and reassign cadres.

It is necessary to make definite decisions to effect changes in organization and personnel in cases where the failure to carry out tasks has been clearly established as being connected, first of all, to the cadres in charge of the various echelons and sectors and of important organs and units. In the views of the masses, leading cadres at all echelons and in all sectors and representatives of the party whose task is to ensure the implementation of party lines, and persons who wield the power of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat. Changes in the system of economic management have necessitated the introduction of new, very stringent requirements for leadership by the party and management by the state. Therefore, the criteria for qualifications and capabilities of leading cadres have been raised to a very high degree with regard to quality. In view of this, the need for a change in the quality of the contingent of key cadres in the various echelons and sectors is objectively inevitable.

For a long time now, cadres have often failed to believe in the effectiveness of resolutions because in implementing them we have usually shown a lack of determination and decisiveness--especially in changing and reassigning leading and key managerial cadres of the various echelons and sectors and of grassroots units who are obviously not qualified for their current positions. For a long period in the past, when assigning key cadres we often made the mistakes of transferring cadres from one post to another at the same level--even in cases where the cadres concerned had committed shortcomings--or of transferring cadres from one sector to another, without paying much attention to promoting cadres from the lower echelons of those sectors. This practice resulted in a situation in which many cadres did not have the actual qualifications which their work required. In many cases, frequent transfers were ordered and the cadres concerned did not have sufficient time to develop their efficiency. This deployment has led to the existence of unspecialized and unqualified cadres who cannot fulfill their leadership and management duties.

The assignment of cadres is still being influenced by feudal attitudes toward ranks and positions in the party and the state apparatus, by subjective concepts arising from the failure to understand people and tasks, and by bureaucratism and conservatism in the management of cadres. We must resolutely implement Resolution No 10-NQ/TU of the party Central Committee and Resolution

No 32-NC/TU of the Political Bureau on organization work; and must firmly grasp the attitude that the organization must be set up and cadres assigned strictly on the basis of the tasks in question and of the economic-technological requirements.

We must clearly define the criteria for cadres for each position. Once the criteria for cadres have been clearly established, we will give the necessary time to and create conditions for the cadres who are capable of meeting these criteria to surge forward and fulfill satisfactorily the tasks entrusted to them. As for those comrades who are obviously incapable of meeting the requirements of their tasks, we should resolutely and promptly demote them or reassign them to a more suitable field of work. If a cadre has reached the retirement age, he should be allowed to retire; the cadre policy should not be cited as an excuse for letting him hold on to his position or seeking to reassign him to another equivalent position.

We should regard promotion and demotion as a normal action in assigning cadres. The interests of our work must be placed above everything else. Indulgence and sympathy are no reasons for us to be hesitant in assigning cadres since this will adversely affect our work. Good and capable cadres who are judged to be really capable of assuming new duties should be given special promotions.

In the criteria for key leading cadres of the party and state at all echelons and in all sectors and units, we should pay due attention to the political and professional criteria and leadership skills. The results of work, however, must be used as the ultimate measure of these criteria.

Absolute loyalty to the revolution and unanimity with the party's line are extremely essential requirements for all party and state cadres.

For leading cadres, aside from these requirements, the political criteria must also be reflected in their political level and exemplary socialist ethics. Concerning these ethics, emphasis must be placed on honesty, straightforwardness in struggling against negativism, abstention from placing one's personal interests and those of one's family and friends above those of the collective and the entire society, and refraining from putting the particular interests of one's own locality ahead of those of the state and the entire society.

As a cadre of the party or the state, one must have specialized knowledge as well as technical and professional management skills suitable for the nature of one's work and for one's position. In the new conditions, it is necessary to take into consideration the diplomas and past schooling of cadres. This, however, should not be done mechanically and emphasis should not be placed on diplomas only. On the contrary, the experience and real capabilities of cadres, and even their self-cultivated knowledge must also be considered.

Concerning cadres' capacity for leadership, we must pay attention to their ability to manage their apparatus and to rally the cadres and laborers under their charge, and their readiness to make decisions and to assume responsibility in carrying out their duties.

Measures should be adopted to use old and new cadres together so as to lower the still high average age of the contingent of key cadres and to ensure continuity in building the contingent of key leading cadres at each level and in each sector. It is necessary to rejuvenate the contingent of key leading cadres and boldly promote talented persons and promising cadres from the lower echelons, especially those who have matured in the basic units. We must overcome the conservatist and anachronistic tendency of assigning cadres without taking the nature of work into consideration. The state of mistrusting cadres and investing key cadres with several functions solely on account of their personal prestige must be resolutely abolished; otherwise, such a practice will lead to the key cadres working perfunctorily and many tasks not having any specific person exclusively in charge of them.

Deputy ministers should not serve concurrently as directors of production and business units; party committee secretaries must also not work as directors.

We must replace boldly and without delay those leading cadres of various organs and units who are currently incapable of taking in the party's line and policies and those who really can no longer direct work realistically, actively and effectively.

C. No less important is the need to change the methods of selecting and managing cadres. This work must be changed according to the following principles: ensuring the collective leadership and decision of party organizations in promoting key cadres; implementing scrupulously the principle of democratic centralism in promoting, selecting and taking disciplinary action against cadres; combining personnel management with work management and control; maintaining an objective and serious attitude in evaluating and making contact with cadres; promptly help cadres bring into play their strengths and correct their weaknesses; and opposing bureaucratism and formalism in the management of cadres.

Cadres must be assigned and promoted according to the system in which the self-criticism made by the cadres themselves are taken into consideration together with the observations of the organs which manage them. Knowledgeable cadres, party members and the masses, especially the subordinates of the cadres being considered for assignment or promotion, and the collectives vested with the authority to make decisions, must be consulted. Attention must be paid to collecting suggestions in a democratic manner for reference when promoting or demoting cadres. The contents of such suggestions, however, must be examined carefully and not mechanically or perfunctorily, especially in those units which have to cope with the problem of factionalism.

The quality of the contingent of cadres in charge of organizational work must be improved. The various departments, especially the organization departments at various echelons, and the organization offices and bureaus of the various departments, ministries, services and production and business organizations, must be strengthened. These departments must be entrusted with the task of assisting the party committee echelons in managing key cadres in each field of activities. In carrying out this task, the departments must have the co-operation of the organization departments at the central and lower echelons.

The head of each section must exercise direct management of subordinate cadres. Leading cadres must directly help cadres under their supervision and discover and improve talented cadres.

Party chapters and executive committees of trade unions and the youth and women's unions must discover talented individuals in localities, units, sectors and their own organizations and recommend them to the central echelon and corresponding party committee echelons so they will be selected and improved. This must be done systematically.

D. To meet the requirements for the renovation of the task of improving assigning and employing cadres, we must renovate in a systematic manner policies and regulations on the remuneration of cadres so as to be consistent with the new managerial system and the new position of various organizations. This is designed to encourage cadres to develop their talents.

The party must pay due attention to caring for the moral and material life of senior cadres, cadres who have rendered meritorious service and retired cadres through the application of policies and procedures that reflect the respect, affection and care of the party and people for these comrades. There must be organizations in charge of implementing and controlling the implementation of these policies and procedures. There must be practical policies and procedures on this matter in order to develop the lasting effect of specialists who are qualified in all respects. Feudalist views must be eliminated in the study and implementation of these policies and procedures.

Taking care of and developing the force of grassroots cadres is the party's major policy. Policies and regulations on remunerating grassroots cadres must be revised so as to be consistent with the importance of grassroots units.

7. We must adopt a new work method and shape a Leninist work ethic for the party. This is a major requirement for our party's leadership. Facts prove that adoption of correct work methods and behavior is an exceptionally important factor in ensuring the accuracy of decisions and transforming them into facts.

A. First of all, we must definitely renovate the method of preparing and issuing decisions especially on economic matters, along the line of improving the scientific character of work methods. In issuing accurate decisions, it is imperative to have a firm grasp of the actual situation and to ensure possession of accurate information. This requires that leading cadres get closer to the realities and that staff organs pay great attention to strengthening organizations, changing study methods and understanding the situation thoroughly.

Study organs must review the situation and utilize information to formulate plans on the basis of accurate information supplied to them. For their party, information organs and joint information units must provide information promptly, select information for dissemination and file reports in a timely manner in order to help leading cadres supervise study work and settle problems appropriately.

The opinions of the masses must be respected, and the views of subordinates must be collected and reviewed. Preparations for important decisions must be based on the study of different plans, close coordination among responsible organs at all levels and in all sectors, extensive use of the results of research institutes and the collection of opinions from persons who are well acquainted with the matter.

The Political Bureau and the Secretariat should directly guide efforts to resolve new and complex problems of great importance on an experimental basis; and only make decisions after studying the actual results of experimental work. Preparations should be made very carefully, to the point that even before making a decision, all arguments and reasons must be clearly analyzed in the main to ensure agreement on or selection of plans for its implementation. If an agreement cannot be reached, thorough discussions must be conducted, but a compromising view must not be arrived at just out of deference or fear that the subsequent adoption of poor decisions may do harm in many respects. The lack of uniform understanding and implementation of resolutions will disperse and lessen the effectiveness of discipline in carrying out decisions.

We must pay attention to creating conditions so that decisions may be made by the party and state on the basis of scientific analysis. All economic plans, policies and viewpoints must be studied in a comprehensive and profound manner and with practical calculations. It is necessary to step up basic investigation, improve statistical work and firmly grasp the situation through analysis to meet the requirements of leadership. Regulations on decision making must be established from top to bottom in the spirit of ensuring that decisions are not made unless complete information is available, unless plans have been made to calculate their effectiveness, and unless all the procedures for decision making have been observed.

B. To make correct decisions simply means to define orientations for action. The crucial problem remains the organization of the implementation of decisions in order to turn them into reality. If we consider research in making decisions to be important, the organization of their implementation is 10 times more so. It is necessary to resolutely overcome the tendency to gloat over one's first successful step--feeling complacent over the decisions already made. Plans must be formulated to carry out resolutions with responsibility for their implementation clearly assigned to specific persons and organs, with a specified time of completion and specific persons and organs designated to keep track of, encourage, supervise and control their implementation.

Major resolutions of the party must be promptly established in specific policies, viewpoints and measures of the state so as to accelerate the implementation of these resolutions. Concerning issues in which no previous experience has been accumulated, work must be carried out on a trial basis before its widespread application. In the art of leadership and management, we must know which points and which links to concentrate our efforts and attention on and must attach special importance to inspection, review, recapitulation, drawing upon experience, giving commendations and awards, and promptly enforcing discipline.

C. The changing of the methods for making decisions and organizing their implementation in accordance with the aforementioned requirements is an important part of our effort to adopt Leninist methodology and work conduct. We must also carry out many other tasks to adopt at all costs this conduct with the aim of improving party leadership.

It is necessary to grasp even more firmly the need for unifying theory with practice, words with deeds, and policies with organization. The current wide separation of these aspects is an important cause of the lack of effectiveness in organization and implementation. We must unify the revolutionary character with the scientific character in all activities, and link revolutionary ardor with organized actions and effective methods. The party must instill in the contingent of cadres a practical and realistic way of thinking and the habit of working with calculated results. It is necessary to urgently train leading cadres in the science of leadership and the science of management.

Each unit head must work in accordance with his functions and the operational procedures instead of according to his personal whim. It is necessary to set up and use the organization satisfactorily from the central level down to various other levels. The apparatus must be efficient and its administrators must be truly capable and knowledgeable. On the basis of functions and operational procedures, it is necessary to review the implementation of decisions in order to promptly give citations, commendations and awards or enforce discipline.

We must truly carry out the practice of self-criticism within the party and before the masses and must truly discuss measures for resolving difficulties in management with the people in order to advance the movement continuously. At 3- or 6-month intervals, and when there is a major task, it is necessary to employ the system of consulting the people and provide opportunities for the masses to criticise party cadres and members and party and state organs. We must strictly analyze social opinions in order to formulate viewpoints and policies in a timely manner.

8. We must pay attention to and always intensify party control work. Control work constitutes one of the key functions of party leadership and represents an important part of party-building work as a whole, especially at a time when the party leads the administration. To ensure effectiveness in organization, leadership and implementation, it is required that we pay the utmost attention to and intensify supervision and control over the implementation of decisions. Programs and plans must be mapped out to organize control work in a careful manner. Plans for activities of the party Central Committee Secretariat and the standing committees of the various party committee echelons must include a plan for control.

It is necessary to intensify party control work. This work must be upgraded scientifically to ensure timeliness, precision and a high level of effectiveness. This is a crucial task that must be carried out in conjunction with planning by the various party committee echelons, control committees and party departments. Control over general issues concerning the implementation of party lines, policies and resolutions--which is designed to encourage, supervise and guide implementation--must be assumed by party committee echelons and



departments in accordance with their functions and areas of responsibility. Control over cases involving violations of party statutes by party members--which includes cases involving violations of the principles of party organization and activities and infringements of party discipline, the law of the state and qualifications of party members--over the enforcement of discipline within the party, over party finances and so forth must, as stipulated in the party statutes, be assumed by the control committees at the central and various other levels. This task is of great significance in maintaining party discipline and contributing to a stable, strong and clean party.

Attention must be given to perfecting control committees at all levels. All activities must be subjected to strict control and all sectors must intensify their own control work. The improvement of the quality and effectiveness of party control work must be closely linked with the improvement of the effectiveness of state control work and the mass control work of the people's control network. Leadership without control is in reality the absence of leadership.

Conclusion: Pay attention to the quality and effectiveness of party-building work.

Dear comrades, the great successes of the Vietnamese revolution are also the successes of party-building work. We have displayed creativity in this work and have achieved results and drawn upon valuable experiences in this field. Many party committee echelons, party chapters, party organizations and party members have, through their actual work, gained valuable experiences in ideological and organizational work. We assert the basic and strong points of the party and the contingent of party cadres and members. Yet, we also clearly recognize the grave weaknesses and deficiencies of the party and of party-building work, especially in the economic and social fields.

The actual situation of the party's present ideological and organizational tasks shows that the quality and effectiveness of the party-building undertaking are far from meeting the requirements of the political task and are hardly worth the efforts made for this purpose. There are correct resolutions and directives on building and organizing the party, but cadres still do not understand and are not implementing them thoroughly. Many important related tasks have been done, but they have not been reviewed promptly in order to evaluate their results.

We must, first of all, point out that party-building work has not long been linked to the political task. Its major shortcoming has resulted from the fact that it has not been aimed at concretizing the party's lines and coordinated closely with the shaping of a new economic managerial system and that proper attention has not been paid to strengthening organization and improving cadres in order to accelerate the establishment of a new economic structure and new economic managerial procedures.

Party-building work has not yet been considered by party committee echelons as their primary task. Many party committee echelons and party cadres and members do not study the party statutes in order to carry out this task correctly.

They have a habit of waiting for or relying on the guidance by the higher echelons.

Our duty is to pay due attention to developing strengths and overcoming such shortcomings in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of the party-building task and the organizational and ideological tasks. We must oppose the slackening of the ideological task. We must also oppose bureaucratism and formalism in party-building work. It is imperative to strengthen control work in order to accelerate the implementation of resolutions, disseminate good experiences, correct deviations and cut down on unnecessary paperwork and meetings.

The party statutes must be complied with scrupulously. Each party committee echelon and each party cadre and member must study carefully the party statutes, the documents that have been approved by the fourth and fifth party congress and which deal with party-building work, and the party's resolutions and directives on this task, in order to take the initiative in implementing them. They are the main basis for each party committee echelon to exercise leadership of the party-building task. Strict discipline must be observed by party committee echelons and party cadres and members in complying with the party statutes.

In the last analysis, the present shortcomings stem from the failure to carry out the party statutes scrupulously. Party-building work must really be the task of the entire party. Each party committee echelon, organ and party cadre and member is responsible for building the party according to its or his function and responsibility on the basis of compliance with the party statutes, party-building guidelines and the central echelon's resolutions and directives.

Party committee echelons and party cadres and members must be thoroughly imbued with party-building guidelines in order to improve the quality and the art of directing the party-building task. Realities of the carrying out of party-building work must be reviewed so that we will thoroughly understand the party-building guidelines with their new contents. Understanding and complying correctly with these guidelines will lead to creativity.

Along with reviewing our experiences in party-building work, we must study those of the CPSU and other fraternal parties in this matter--parties which have preceded us in the socialist revolution.

The quality of the body of cadres in charge of organizational, ideological and control work must be enhanced by improving the incumbent ones and changing those who are no longer qualified for this work because they are qualitatively poor, unfair, subjective, bureaucratic, highhanded and corrupt, have abused their powers and worse still, have engaged in illicit transactions.

We must shape for each party echelon, organ and cadre entrusted with this work a result-minded way of thinking and a practical work method in directing the organizational and ideological tasks. We must equip leading and organizational cadres with the necessary knowledge of their specific work and the knowledge of economic management, science and technology and organizational science.

This is imperatively necessary to help the Central Committee and party committee echelons improve the quality and effectiveness of the party-building task.

Dear comrade delegates, over the past half of a century our people, under the party's leadership, have endured countless sacrifices and hardships and won one victory after another. In the protracted struggle, our party--founded, educated and trained by President Ho Chi Minh--has thus far been highly worthy as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party with a force of stalwart cadres and members who are absolutely loyal to the fatherland and the people and to proletarian internationalism, a party which is united and single-minded in terms of its lines and is always worthy of the confidence of the people and friends all over the world.

The great victories which our country's revolution has won since the fourth party congress are also the victories of the party in the process of its maturity. The shortcomings in the party-building task as well as in the party's leadership must be considered as lessons of experience through which our party will mature even more remarkably.

Building the party has always been an important task that has decided all of the results of the revolution. Today, in the face of the ever larger-scale and complex socialist construction undertaking and of the very intensive national defense work, party-building task is all the more important and decides the country's future.

Acting upon the party statutes and the beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh's testament, we are determined to forge ahead in all respects in order to be worthy as the leaders and loyal servants of the people. We are convinced that with the fifth party congress' resolutions and on the basis of the experiences drawn upon the realities and efforts of the entire party in carrying out the above tasks, policies and measures, the party-building work will surge forward, meet the requirements of the political task, and certainly make great contributions to creating a consolidated strength of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship throughout the country and ensuring the successful fulfillment of the tasks set forth by the fifth party congress.

TRUONG CHINH ADDRESSES RALLY ON VCP CONGRESS

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[Address by Truong Chinh, member of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau, at 31 March Hanoi mass rally to welcome the success of the Fifth VCP Congress--read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots in the capital city; dear compatriots nationwide; dear honorable guests; dear comrades and friends:

Over the past few days our compatriots in the capital as well as throughout the country have attentively followed the work of the Fifth VCP National Congress. The achievements of the party congress are the culmination of a process of serious work bringing together the collective intelligence of the entire party and reflecting the will and aspirations of the whole people. The work of the congress is a vivid manifestation of the leading party's sense of responsibility, of its close relations with the people and of the relations between the people and their party.

Over the past year or more our compatriots and combatants throughout the country have actively participated in the socialist emulation drive to overcome difficulties, step up production and score achievements in honor of the congress. In the past months the emulation movement has become even more active; many new factors have emerged; many innovations have developed; a number of construction projects have been completed and our people at home and abroad have submitted many accurate suggestions on national affairs to the party.

On behalf of the party Central Committee I warmly welcome our entire people's participation in and practical contributions to making preparations for the congress. May I report to you, comrades and compatriots, that the fifth party congress has completed its work and ended with success. The congress analyzed the national situation over the past years and at the present time; laid down the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage; charted the main orientations, tasks and targets in the economic and social fields for the 5 years 1981-85 and for the 1980's as a whole; made decisions on policies and measures with regard to party building and to amendments to the party's rules; and elected the new party Central Committee with Comrade Le Duan as general secretary.

Dear comrades and compatriots, assessing the situation over the recent period, the congress affirmed that the past 5 years will go down in the nation's history as a stage of very glorious victories of the Vietnamese revolution. As a matter of fact, despite the ravages caused to our country by a fierce, protracted war started by imperialism, our people have overcome countless difficulties; speedily achieving national reunification on the state level; promulgating the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; establishing a proletarian dictatorship system in the whole country; defeating two wars of aggression initiated by Chinese expansionism and hegemonism; rehabilitating, transforming and building the economy; transforming and developing culture; maintaining political security; strengthening the militant alliance and forming a solid position of mutual support for revolutions of the three Indochinese countries; strengthening militant solidarity, and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The impact of the Vietnamese revolution on the world peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism has been increased. Our country's position has been enhanced in the international arena.

These victories have taken the Vietnamese revolution forward to a new, firmer strategic position and have created greater possibilities for the defense of the fatherland and the successful building of socialism. These glorious victories have been recorded through the sacrifices of countless comrades and compatriots, through the self-denying labor of our entire people and army, with the great assistance of the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries and with the strong support of the revolutionary and peace forces in the world.

The congress affirmed the heroism of our nation and our people's armed forces and the staunch will of our workers, peasants, intellectual workers and our people's armed forces in the daily struggle to overcome hardships and trials in the postwar period and in the first stage of socialist construction.

The congress also pointed out that these victories had been due to the steadfast leadership of our party, which was founded and steeled by President Ho Chi Minh and which has remained boundlessly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the destiny of the nation and the cause of the people and to the leadership of the Central Committee headed by its general secretary, Comrade Le Duan. These victories have proved the correctness of the line traced in the resolutions of the fourth party congress and in the subsequent resolutions of the party Central Committee.

In the extremely serious situation of our country and in the face of the new enemy's aggressive schemes and acts, our party has laid down resolute and clear-sighted strategic guidelines, made accurate and timely decisions and led our revolution to pass an important turning point and continue to develop in the right direction.

With a high sense of responsibility and serious self-criticism and criticism, the congress assessed the shortcomings and mistakes of our party and state in economic and social leadership and management, took responsibility upon itself, made a self-criticism before the people and drew useful lessons, thus strengthening the unity and singlemindedness of the party and people and

enhancing the will and determination to strive for a steadier advance in the stage ahead.

Dear comrades and compatriots, at present, the Chinese reactionaries, aided and abetted by the United States, are waging a kind of war of sabotage against our country on the military, political, economic and cultural fronts and are using various forces and resorting to very wicked tricks. Our country is now in a situation in which it enjoys peace while having to cope with this kind of many-sided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists acting hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists.

Therefore, the congress pointed out that in the new stage of the revolution our entire party, people and army must carry out two strategic tasks: The successful building of socialism and the maintenance of combat readiness in order to effectively defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. That is the sacred mission that today's Vietnamese generation must assume in the nation's history. The congress laid down socialist construction as a primary task and affirmed the continued implementation of the general line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy set forth by the fourth congress.

The congress set the following as the orientation and tasks for the eighties: Continuing socialist construction along with socialist transformation; concentrating forces on the development of agriculture, regarded as the primary front; taking agriculture a step further toward socialist large-scale production; striving hard to boost consumer goods production and to quickly increase exports; reorganizing and developing communications and transportation services; and continuing efforts to build a number of heavy industries.

The 5 years 1981-1985 are years of further development for the national economy, rearrangement of the economic structure and stepped-up socialist transformation. These three aspects are closely interrelated and aimed at primarily stabilizing the economic and social situation, meeting the most pressing and vital requirements of the people's material and cultural lines, reducing the most serious imbalances in the economy, overcoming to some extent the abnormal aspects of distribution and circulation and creating more conditions for a more vigorous and steadier advance in subsequent years.

The congress stressed the need to renovate economic management and put our valuable assets--namely manpower, land, trade and the existing and latent potential of our country--to the best use. At the same time we should bring into play the great effect of the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and of the mutual assistance and cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea to build and develop the economies of the three Indochinese countries.

The number one objective of the party's economic program is to effectively solve the food problem for our whole society and to properly meet clothing needs and other essential needs of the people.

The congress stressed that the immediate task in national defense is to resolutely defeat the Chinese reactionaries' many-sided sabotage war and maintain

political security, public order and social safety while ensuring that the country always stands strong enough and ready to defeat the enemy under any circumstances.

Thus, the resolutions of the congress have shed light on the present stage of our cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland. The coming stage will be one of arduous and fierce struggle in all fields. We must undergo hardships, work with self-abnegation and mature quickly. It will not be easy for us to reach the achievements we desire because the enemy across the border is feverishly pursuing his scheme of weakening and annexing our country and because the direct advance from small-scale production to socialism and the creation of a modern socialist economy and a prosperous, civilized life are entirely new and extremely difficult tasks. The struggle to overcome the difficulties ahead and to advance our economy and country needs the hands, brains and hearts of all patriotic Vietnamese.

Our people have been steeled in hardships and trials and have overcome all obstacles in their advance. Through the fifth party congress, with its new decisions, our people will grasp even more firmly the situation in our country and grow more confident in their own strength. Our people will surely gloriously overcome all ordeals ahead, writing more brilliant pages in the revolutionary epic of the nation.

Dear comrades and compatriots, at the congress we voiced our party's and state's views on burning international problems. The party's foreign policy reflects the nature of our system, the deep aspirations of our people and the basic interests of our state. We should secure a favorable international context and great international assistance to heal the wounds of war and build a prosperous and happy life for the people. We will consistently and unceasingly consolidate and strengthen militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We will tighten the alliance and special relationship with Laos and Kampuchea in a spirit of sharing weal and woe and mutual assistance. We will tirelessly work for a Southeast Asia of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation. We advocate a peaceful Asia and a struggle against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in collusion with U.S. imperialism--the cause of tension on this continent. We strongly support the resolute struggle of other peoples against the warlike imperialist and reactionary forces and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our correct stand has received wide sympathy and support in the world. At this fifth congress, voices filled with ardent feelings that manifest this sympathy and support from our friends in the world have resounded far and wide across our country and in the hearts of all our citizens.

During the first years of this decade, the world situation has become obviously tense due to the warlike and interventionist policy of the Reagan administration. However, the warmongers are encountering insurmountable obstacles: The national defense strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community as a whole; the increasing strength of the three revolutionary currents which are on the offensive; the awareness of hundreds of millions of people who are rising up to shatter the shackles of enslavement on this planet; and the will and aspiration for peace of all nations.

In view of the present world situation, coordinating all efforts of socialist countries, nonaligned countries, all nations and democratic and peace forces is of extreme importance in repelling the danger of nuclear war and checking the adventurous policy of the warlike imperialists. In this noble struggle, the solidarity and unity among the socialist community nations is of decisive importance.

Our party, state and people fully support the Soviet Union's peace program for the 1980's. We welcome the proposals and initiatives set forth by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 17th Soviet Trade Unions Congress and the statement he recently made in Tashkent. We support the constructive peace initiative of Comrade Tsedenbal and the Mongolian Government regarding Asia. Once again, we express the resolute support and full solidarity of our party and people with the Polish brothers who are doing all that is necessary to restore public order and security and to protect socialist gains.

Regarding China, we have on many occasions stated that our people bear no grudge against the Chinese people, that our friendship with the Chinese people remains intact. This is a longstanding friendship that the Chinese authorities themselves have trampled underfoot. We hold that any disputes between the two neighboring countries left behind by history can be resolved through negotiations if the Chinese authorities renounce their aggressive and hostile policy toward our people.

Dear comrades and compatriots, the fifth party congress has concerned itself with the question of enhancing the party's combat strength and promoting its leadership ability. The congress has decided that the key present party building tasks are to continue to promote the party's working class nature; to develop the party and make it strong and stable politically, ideologically and organizationally in order to ensure success in implementing the party's line; to raise the party's leadership ability in socialist construction and national defense; to enable the party to constantly and firmly maintain its revolutionary and scientific nature; and to make the party a truly upright party which has great combat strength and is closely united with the masses. The congress has particularly stressed that we must strive to raise the quality of party members. A party member's quality and capability at present are primarily reflected in his spirit of revolutionary offensive, in his firm belief in the victory of socialist revolution and in the successful defense of the fatherland. His quality and capability are also manifested in his calmness in the face of difficulties and his hourly and daily struggle to perform realistic activities in contributing to socialist construction and socialist transformation, developing production and stabilizing and improving, step by step, the people's living conditions.

On the national defense front, a party member not only must uphold the spirit of valiant fighting on the frontline but must heighten his vigilance in countering the acts of sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in the political, economic and ideological fields. He must not adopt an evasive attitude or the attitude of an outsider. He must not make demands or complain about negative manifestations in society. On the contrary, he must intensively participate in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths and combat negative manifestations and spontaneous capitalist tendencies in order



to protect the people's right to collective mastery and to consolidate and strengthen the battleground of socialism.

To maintain its purity, the party will resolutely expel all members who are opportunist and corrupt; who have a paralyzed revolutionary will; who exploit and oppress the people; who smuggle and hoard goods; and who take bribes. Meanwhile, the party will continue to enlarge its ranks by admitting many new members--that is, those outstanding people who are conscious of the party's ideals; who have been morally strengthened through real ordeal; who have a certain political, cultural, scientific and technical knowledge; and who are well experienced in economic and social management.

The congress stressed the need for the entire party--that is every party organization, cadre and member--to try its best to maintain and develop the party's tradition of solidarity and unity and to correctly implement President Ho Chi Minh's teaching; Solidarity is a valuable tradition of our party and our people. You comrades, from the central level to the party chapter, must preserve the party's solidarity and unity of mind like the pupil of one's eye. This is also Lenin's teaching.

The congress attached great importance to building and developing the laboring people's collective mastery in accordance with the system: The party leads, the people are masters and the state manages. Our party's leadership must ensure the building of a steady, strong state; the strengthening of the state's role and efficiency; the consolidation of the socialist legal system and the prevention of a number of party organizations from performing many tasks at one time and from infringing on administrative organs' functions. The party's leadership must ensure the building of mass organizations into solid parts of the proletarian dictatorship system, into schools of socialism for all strata of people and into the links between the party and the popular masses.

The VCP is the offspring of the working class and people of Vietnam. The sacred relationship between the party and the people has become a valuable tradition. This is the source of strength for the party and the nation. In any position or work, each party member must reexamine his work behavior, stay close to the masses, penetrate the mass movement, listen to the masses' opinions and accept and uphold the masses' creative experiences.

The party will not tolerate any party member's violation of the people's interests. The party urges the people to more actively participate in building the party, to sincerely contribute their views on the party's leadership and their observations and criticism of cadres, party members and those persons who are recommended for party membership. Party members must always struggle to protect the party and must not tolerate those who attempt to separate the people from the party.

The fifth party congress was a landmark along the path of a protracted struggle full of hardships and victories of our party and people, for national independence and socialism. The struggle objectives and program of action of the party are also those of the working class and laboring people in our country.

The fifth party congress was held under the slogan: All for the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness. The resolutions of the congress meet the vital interests of the nation, the urgent demands of the economy and the imperative everyday needs of the people. They constitute a solid basis for our party members, compatriots and combatants nationwide to whip up a seething widespread socialist emulation movement to overcome all difficulties and ordeals and score ever greater achievements in the noble revolutionary undertaking of the nation.

Dear comrades and compatriots, the party Central Committee calls on all comrades and compatriots in the capital city and all over the country to unite closely, to remain confident and enthusiastic and to strive to fully implement the important resolutions of the fifth party congress and the great President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament. We will certainly successfully complete the socialist construction and effectively defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Our country will surely worthily contribute to strengthening the three revolutionary currents and promoting the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Let us enthusiastically acclaim the success of the fifth party congress.

Long live the glorious VCP! President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our enterprise!

VAN TIEN DUNG ADDRESSES VCP CONGRESS 28 MAR

Part One

BK311152 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2330 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Part 1 of speech by Senior Gen Van Tien Dung, member of VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and head of VPA party organization delegation, at the 28 March session of the Fifth VCP Congress--read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed Presidium, comrade delegates and guests: The congresses of party organizations in the entire army have thoroughly discussed and reached a high identity of views with the party Central Committee documents presented to the congress. The identity of views of the entire party is a firm guarantee for the advance of our country's revolution to new victories.

The army's delegation, on behalf of all the party members, cadres, combatants and national defense workers and personnel, wish to extend to the congress their warm greetings, their absolute confidence and their readiness to implement scrupulously the resolution of the congress.

Comrades, the political report presented by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan has correctly assessed the victories and achievements in the case of national construction and national defense of our people over the past 5 years. The report has highlighted the victories of extremely great historic significance in the two wars for national defense against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. As it has become common knowledge by now, the Chinese leaders have, for a long time, systematically carried out numerous insidious schemes and maneuvers against Vietnam so as to realize their expansionist and hegemonist dreams in Southeast Asia. While our people were waging the struggle against the French colonialist and U.S. imperialist aggressors, they pursued a policy of simultaneously giving aid and exerting pressure on us and sought to join hands with imperialism to limit our victory. This was aimed at perpetuating the partition of Vietnam, preventing it from ever becoming stronger and forcing it to depend on them. For this reason Vietnam's total victory in its anti-U.S. war of resistance was not only a heavy defeat for U.S. imperialism but also a bitter debacle for China's ruling clique.

An increasingly prosperous and powerful independent, unified and socialist Vietnam is a major obstacle in the path of China's expansion to the south. It was precisely for this reason that immediately after our people won complete

victory, the reactionary Chinese ruling clique, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, carried out many insidious policies and maneuvers, first covertly and then openly, to oppose, weaken and eventually annex the SRV.

A high point in the development of the Chinese reactionaries' hostile policy against Vietnam in the past years was the war of aggression waged by the Pol Pot puppet army in the southwestern border and thereafter the direct attack by 600,000 Chinese troops along the entire northern border of our country.

With its profound experience, our party Central Committee, headed by esteemed Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, accurately and promptly exposed the Maoist reactionaries in the Chinese leadership as the dangerous and direct enemy of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage. When the armed conflicts started by the Pol Pot clique, China's henchman, gradually developed into a real war on the southwestern border of our country, the party correctly predicted the scheme of the new enemy. At the same time, it pointed out that in making war on our southwestern border, the Pol Pot clique was executing its masters' order and that a Chinese war of aggression to annex Vietnam would certainly take place. Therefore, along with concentrating on quickly achieving victory on the southwestern border, we had to make urgent preparations in all fields to cope with a new aggression in the north.

Following the guideline thus determined and firmly seizing the opportunity, our army and people acted with determination and swiftness. They counterattacked, dealing fitting counterblows to the enemy in the southwest, while assisting the revolutionary forces of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the fraternal Kampuchean people in liberating Kampuchea and saving the Khmer nation from the scourge of genocide. When the Chinese army launched its aggressive attacks against the six northern border provinces, our armed forces, together with the people of various nationalities at the border and strongly supported by the entire country, smashed the invasion right on the frontline of the fatherland.

Our people and troops defeated the cruelly aggressive pincer attack of the enemy, winning glorious victories in the two recent wars for national defense. At a turning point of history when the situation was developing in a very complicated and serious manner, our party's determination reflected extreme clear-sightedness. It was very bold and accurate. Those victories of ours also demonstrated the realistic organizational ability of the party and the various sectors and state agencies in time of war from the central down to the local and grassroots levels on the military front as well as in other domains. They effectively supported our cause of national defense.

War is always a general ordeal for a regime and a country. Our victories in the two recent wars reflect the superiority of the socialist regime, and the proletarian dictatorship and collective mastery system which has been gradually established in each locality and throughout the country.

Although our achievements in building the country and consolidating national defense were restricted obviously by the fierce designs of enemy aggression and sabotage, the short time available, objective difficulties and even subjective shortcomings, they already manifest the spiritual and material

strength of the new social regime, the great potentials of our country and the traditions of ardent patriotism and heroism of the Vietnamese people in the war for national defense.

Relying on the size of their country with its numerous population and troops and on the advantage of their country's geographical location adjacent to the seas, land and airspace of our country, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists thought that they could easily subdue the Vietnamese nation. They made a mistake. With the impetus of the historic Dien Hong spirit, all our troops and people once again defied the new challenge and all rose up as one and took up arms to defend their beloved country.

The people throughout the country singlemindedly agreed to withstand sacrifices and hardships continuously, overcome all difficulties and devote all the material assets and manpower to the frontline in order to meet the great and urgent requirements of the two successive wars.

Just as President Ho Chi Minh generally described the patriotic and dauntless traditions of our nation: Since time immemorial, every time the country faced aggression, that spirit was brightly rekindled to become a very strong and momentous wave levelling all difficulties and dangers and sinking both country sellers and invaders.

Under the new socialist regime, that spirit is being developed to the greatest extent reminding the enemy of the historic lesson that heroic Vietnam is a sovereign country, and of a new lesson that the SRV now is inviolable.

Our victories in the two recent wars for national defense were evidently not only military victories. They were the combined results of our achievements in the military, political, economic, cultural and social fields under the new conditions in which our entire country has been unified and is advancing toward socialism.

On behalf of the Vietnamese People's Army, we would like to express the profound gratitude of all combatants to the glorious VCP and to all the beloved people throughout the country who have constantly endured sacrifices and privations in their struggle to create conditions for our troops to mature with every passing day and to win victories. Our people's victories in the two recent wars for national defense resulted from the close association of our national strength with the strength of the new era.

By waging the war of aggression against our country, the Chinese rulers have nakedly exposed their true nature as reactionaries, expansionists and big-nation hegemonists, an effective ally of the imperialists and all kinds of reactionaries; and the dangerous enemy of socialism, peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, and of their own people.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against Chinese aggression was a just cause. They struggled in the interests of their own nation and for the sake of their international obligations. Therefore, we received timely and effective support filled with socialist internationalism from the Soviet Union, a reliable

and powerful friend and ally. We have secured an ever closer militant solidarity and alliance with the fraternal Laos and Kampuchea. We have received strong support and sympathy from the other fraternal socialist countries and all the forces struggling for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress in the world.

#### Conclusion

BK311530 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Conclusion of speech by Senior Gen Van Tien Dung]

[Text] As the political report has pointed out, in the current situation, the revolution in our country can continue to develop and advance only by simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks: successfully build socialism and stand ready to fight to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland firmly.

Concerning the task of standing ready to fight in defense of the fatherland, as the political report has clearly pointed out, we must mobilize the greatest efforts of our entire party, people and army to defeat resolutely the multifaceted war of destruction waged by the enemy. At the same time we must ensure that the country is always prepared and strong enough to vanquish the enemy in any circumstances. We must distinctly realize that the present dangerous and direct enemy of our people and the peoples of the Indochinese countries and the entire Southeast Asia is the Maoist reactionary clique in the Chinese ruling circles. At the same time we must clearly recognize that the basis and long-term enemy of the revolution in our country and the world revolution is imperialism led by U.S. imperialism.

The Vietnamese people have always set great store by their friendship with the Chinese people, but we resolutely stand ready to smash any wild aggressive design of the Chinese ruling clique. We do not commit aggression against anyone, but we are determined to defend the sacred borders of our beloved fatherland. Lenin once said: A revolution can stand firm only when it knows how to defend itself. We have done exactly that. We have committed to our memory President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that whether in peace or in war, we must hold fast to the initiative, foresee the future and be prepared.

In the current situation these teachings have a profound and practical significance. We must constantly uphold vigilance, ceaselessly strengthen our national defense forces and further increase the fighting strength and the level of combat readiness of the armed forces so as to defend the fatherland firmly. National defense strength can be created and increased only on the basis of the general political, economic and cultural strength of the entire country. Therefore, building the nation's potential in all respects is the most basic problem of the task of consolidating national defense.

The delegation of the army's party organizations fully agrees with the general line and the line of economic building laid down by the fourth party congress and concretized by this congress. It fully agrees with the orientation and task of building an all-people, comprehensive and modern national defense system and building the people's army, as stated in the various documents of the congress.

We deeply understand that successfully implementing the revolutionary line in general and the economic line in particular, as well as successfully implementing the main socioeconomic orientations, tasks and targets for 1981-85 and for the 80's, is a firm basis ensuring our people's national defense.

The Vietnam People's Army is determined to fulfill its most political task of standing ready to fight and fight victoriously in defense of the fatherland and the people's peaceful labor. At the same time it is determined to participate actively in building the economy and practicing thrift, thereby contributing to stepping up the building of socialism in our country.

The task of consolidating our national defense must be carried out in a special situation. Our people have to cope simultaneously with a multifaceted war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialism, and to deal readily with a possible large-scale war of aggression. Such a situation has further accentuated the close relations between national defense and security and has made these two factors heavily dependent on the strength of the entire people.

As a common saying goes: National defense and security are one, because both are aimed at ensuring peace inside the country and the inviolability of its borders.

The people's army always seeks to strengthen solidarity and to achieve unity of views with the people, and to work satisfactorily in unity and coordination with the people's public security forces in the cause of consolidating national defense, defending the fatherland and maintaining political security and public order and safety.

The country's potential in all fields is the basis of its national defense might. The task of consolidating national defense, however, has its specific requirements unlike those of the task of national construction. For this reason the organizational role of the state of proletarian dictatorship under the party's leadership in bringing into play the aggregate strength of the entire country and people to carry out satisfactorily the task of consolidating national defense takes on a particularly important significance.

All the problems posed by the task of defending the fatherland, consolidating national defense and building the armed forces must be reflected in the general problems and plans and in state policies. They must also be institutionalized by laws and decrees, ensured by organizational systems and translated into action by the entire people and army and by all sectors from the central to the grassroots level.

The zeal displayed by our people and their armed forces in carrying out their national defense duties is based on their increasing revolutionary consciousness combined with our age-old national tradition of patriotism. Our party and state always apply themselves to fostering this spirit and these sacred sentiments. At the same time, by implementing correct policies, they encourage cadres, combatants and the entire people to zealously build the army and consolidate national defense. There must be a tightly organized system to

guarantee fairness and reasonableness and to combine obligation with interest and voluntariness with compulsiveness. These are necessary conditions for creating continuous mass movements in national defense as well as in national construction.

In history, our nation has, on several occasions, defeated foreign aggressors from the north to protect the Vietnamese homeland and to check their expansion to the south resolutely. Over the past century and more, standing on this vanguard land, our people have had to shed an untold amount of blood to win back from the imperialists the right to be the masters of their country and to build a plentiful and happy life. However, the new emperors of China, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, have refused to leave us alone. Fully conscious of our responsibility for the fate of the nation and even that of mankind, our present generation and the next ones are determined to struggle persistently against them to firmly defend the fatherland and the socialist construction of our people.

Our people are continuing our forefathers' fight for self-defense, which has lasted thousands of years, in the conditions and circumstances of modern times. The Vietnamese nation in the second half of the 20th century is vastly different from that of the 13th century when our ancestors fought against the Yuan army; it is unlike the Vietnamese nation in the 15th century when our ancestors struggled against the Ming forces; it is also dissimilar from the Vietnamese nation in the 18th century, when our forefathers stood up against the Qing invaders.

The superior socialist system in our country and the strength of our time have helped to greatly increase the traditional strength of the heroic Vietnamese nation and of the staunch and indomitable Vietnamese people, who have rich experience in national defense.

Our material forces, though not yet fully developed, will certainly be multiplied many times over and developed to the highest level. This is because we have a just cause, absolute political and spiritual superiority, the age-old traditional Vietnamese culture, the all-round and lofty internationalist co-operation of the Soviet Union, the close militant alliance with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, the solidarity and active assistance of other fraternal socialist countries, and the broad support of our friends around the world. In addition, we have the military science and military art of the war for liberation and war for national defense which have been tried in continuous tests of strength with numerous big and cruel enemies. This military science and military art are continuing to develop with our absorption of the progressive experiences of Soviet military science and military art.

Under the party's leadership and with the belief that nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, our army and people are firmly confident of our certain victory. Our nation will certainly be victorious and will forever be the victor if the enemy is rash enough to lay his hands on our beloved socialist fatherland.

This congress has reviewed the experience gained in the practice of struggle and has set forth the orientations and tasks for the new revolutionary period.



We firmly believe that, in light of the resolutions of this congress, the revolution in our country will be successfully built in our country and that the beloved Vietnamese homeland will certainly be firmly defended.

Closely united around the party Central Committee, the Vietnamese people's armed forces promise the congress that they will fully implement the historic resolutions to be adopted by the congress, and that they will always be worthy of the affectionate trust of the people, the party and the SRV state, worthy of the heroic national tradition and of their own glorious history of struggle, and worthy of the boundless love of venerated and beloved Uncle Ho.

We respectfully wish the congress brilliant success. We wish the Presidium, the guests and all the beloved comrade delegates the best of health.

PHAM HUNG REPORT AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

BK211700 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Mar 82 pp 7, 8

[Report presented by Pham Hung, VCP Political Bureau member and SRV interior minister, representative of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization, at the Fifth VCP Congress on 28 March in Hanoi]

[Text] The party Central Committee has presented before the congress reports having a deep Marxist-Leninist character that comprehensively review our people's efforts to build socialism and defend the fatherland since the fourth party congress, clearly analyze the characteristics of the present stage, draw accurate conclusions and set forth strategic revolutionary tasks, and define the major policies and measures in the socioeconomic, national defense, security and party-building fields. I agree totally with these reports.

In these glorious moments of this party congress, we call to our minds with deep gratitude venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh who painstakingly built, trained and forged our party, our people of various nationalities, our army, our security forces and the various economic, cultural and social sectors, instilling in them the spirit of unity and revolutionary offensive for the independence and freedom of the fatherland. Great President Ho Chi Minh lives forever in our cause!

The past 5 years have been a period in which our people--under the clear-sighted leadership of the party Central Committee headed by respected and beloved Comrade Le Duan--recorded very glorious success and created great capabilities in the cause of advancing the entire country to socialism and defending firmly the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Based on a scientific analysis of the domestic and international situation, the party Central Committee has asserted in its political report: "Our country is now in a situation wherein it enjoys peace while having to face a kind of multisided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemocrats acting hand in hand with the U.S. imperialists, and at the same time, to stand ready to cope with the possibility of a large-scale war of aggression initiated by the enemy."

This situation requires that our entire party, army and people vigorously build the country to make it stable and strong in the economic, national defense and security fields; improve the people's material and cultural life; and at the

same time, uphold vigilance with the determination to defeat the kind of multi-sided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, and stand ready to fight victoriously if the enemy recklessly starts a large-scale war of aggression.

After going through various stages of revolutionary struggle under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the Vietnamese nation has gained complete independence and freedom and the Vietnamese fatherland has been totally reunified. The people throughout our country are now embarking on a broad struggle for socialist transformation and socialist construction in order to triumph over poverty and backwardness and advance step by step, alongside the vanguard nations of the world, on the path of the socialist revolution. Our revolutionary cause, however, is being carried on amid many very complex developments in the world situation.

The struggle between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces on a worldwide scale has continued in a very fierce and intense manner. The three revolutionary currents have unceasingly grown bigger and stronger and are now on the offensive. The socialist system--with the Soviet Union as its pillar--has been constantly consolidated and developed; it is generating a decisive impact on the developmental trend of the epoch and serves as an impregnable fortress and a reliable support for various nations in their revolutionary struggle. In spite of the very complex developments of the situation and the extreme tension and unrest in many regions, the socialist community and the revolutionary forces in the world are vigorously developing their capability for defending and preserving peace. Imperialism, which is growing ever weaker and being caught even deeper in an ever-worsening general crisis, has been driven back from one position to another. In this predicament, imperialism--headed by U.S. imperialism--is intensively colluding with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and international reactionary forces to launch frenzied counterattacks against the revolutionary movement, chiefly against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. In Southeast Asia, the enemies are directing the spearhead at Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are the direct and dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese revolution. They hold that an independent, unified, prosperous and powerful socialist Vietnam with a genuine Marxist-Leninist line is a great danger and obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonist schemes against Southeast Asia.

Following their defeats in the wars of aggression on our country's southwestern and northern borders, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have further intensified their collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. On the one hand, they have continued to dispatch troops close to our country's northern border and start armed conflicts in many areas in an attempt to nibble at our lands, maintain constant tension along the border and create the dangerous possibility of a war of aggression conducted on different scales. On the other hand, they have tried persistently to undermine our people's efforts to build socialism by intensively conducting sabotage activities against our country in many fields, from many directions, in many forms and with many extremely perfidious and cunning maneuvers, in a bid to upset our country's political, economic and social situation, weaken us, incite rebellions and invade our country when the opportunity presents itself.

They have stepped up the sending of spies, scouts and commandos across the border or from the sea into our country to gather intelligence, infiltrate and sabotage our ranks from within, establish contact with and rally reactionary forces at home, organize sabotage activities and plot rebellious and subversive schemes.

They have frenziedly escalated the psychological war with the aim of destroying our people's morale, ideology, confidence and spirit of revolutionary struggle, undermining the great national unity bloc and distorting and criticizing party and state viewpoints and policies. Through these means they hope to paralyze our revolutionary spirit and spread a feeling of dissatisfaction among our people in an attempt to create a volatile political situation.

They have striven to distort and falsify the truth; exaggerate the difficulties facing our economy and life; and at the same time, engineer cases involving the destruction of machinery, arson and losses in production and organize smuggling, speculative, hoarding and money and market-manipulating activities in a bid to aggravate further the difficulties facing our people's economy and life and obstruct our efforts to build and develop the national economy.

The enemy has, through the use of different maneuvers, introduced into our country various types of reactionary and decadent cultural works and promoted a debauched lifestyle, especially among the youths and teenagers, in a plot to create a group of selfish and lazy people given to hedonism.

They have also enticed people to flee abroad or have used them, through coercion or persuasion, as its henchmen to oppose the Vietnamese revolution. It has also sought by every means to take advantage of and encourage diehard hooligans, professional thugs and other social dregs--vestiges of the exploitative ownership system of old and new colonialism--in an attempt to sabotage the economy and undermine social order.

The negative aspects and weaknesses in economic and social activities, coupled with the existence of a number of degraded, decadent and arrogant elements who abuse authority and engage in under-the-counter dealings or theft and bribery in state organs in different forms and on different scales, are all aiding the enemy in undermining our people's independent, free, plentiful and happy life.

In the international arena, the enemy is trying every means possible to isolate our country from the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea, other members of the socialist community and other countries in the world.

All of this shows that the enemy is very perfidious and it will not spare any maneuver, any form or any chance to counter the revolution in Vietnam, as well as in Laos and Kampuchea, in an attempt to realize its expansionist and hegemonist dream in Southeast Asia. This perfidious scheme is part of its counterrevolutionary global strategy against socialism, national independence and world peace.

Therefore, defeating the kind of multisided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces is an extremely important task of the socialist

socialist revolution in our country. It is also an extremely pressing political task of our entire party, people and army in the new stage of the revolution.

Only by frustrating the enemy's multisided war of sabotage will create stable conditions for carrying out economic development; building the material and technical bases of socialism; accelerating production; stabilizing and gradually improving the people's livelihood; and strengthening our potential in terms of our economy, national defense and security. Moreover, to frustrate the enemy's multisided war of sabotage means to take the initiative in preventing and repelling their attempt to wage another war of aggression while actively maintaining a high degree of combat readiness to cope with the situation in which the enemy could recklessly launch a large-scale war of aggression.

From this conception, we can see clearly that it is necessary to achieve close coordination between economic development and the consolidation of national defense and security, and that it is also necessary to closely combine the consolidation of national defense with the effort to safeguard political security and maintain social order and safety. Through this process, we can understand even more profoundly the close relationship between the two strategic tasks--to build socialism successfully and to stand ready for combat to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland firmly.

The struggle to frustrate the multisided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists is an extremely difficult, complex, decisive and protracted revolutionary struggle.

If we want to be victorious in this struggle, it is necessary for our entire party, people and army to carry out our work in all fields intensively, comprehensively and simultaneously while expanding the responsibility of all echelons and sectors from the central to the grassroots levels under the unified and centralized leadership of various party committee echelons.

Efforts must be made to ensure that our cadres, party members and people--especially our key and leading cadres in all sectors, localities and establishments--maintain vigilance against our direct and dangerous enemy without the least amount of vagueness or neglect and understand their sinister and perfidious schemes and acts clearly.

This is aimed at enhancing their socialist patriotism and instilling in them a profound hatred for the enemy, with political sensitivity and a strong reaction so they can promptly prevent and smash all sabotage tricks by the enemy.

It is necessary to develop and protect the structure of the party organizations and administration at all levels as well as that of the mass organizations in such a way as to make them truly pure and firm and enable them to maintain solidarity and achieve unanimity of views on the basis of the party and state lines and policies; step up indoctrination activities in order to improve the revolutionary quality of the cadres, party members and youth union and women's union members, with special attention given to educating and fostering youths and teenagers; and resolutely overcome all manifestations indicating a decline

in our political quality while carrying out the struggle against all manifestations of negativism among all organs, enterprises and mass organizations and in society along with the struggle against the enemy's sabotage activities.

Efforts must be made to strengthen the socialist legal system, ensure the people's right to collective mastery, and conduct social management in accordance with the laws provided for both political and economic affairs so as to be able to struggle against all counterrevolutionary activities and other crimes effectively, thus safeguarding the party, administration and socialist property as well as protecting the lives, property and legitimate rights of the people. It is necessary to conduct regular disseminations and explanations on the socialist legal system among the people of all strata so as to make it possible for every citizen to abide by the law voluntarily and to struggle for the preservation of this legal system. We should learn to grasp V.I. Lenin's teaching that "whenever the law is slightly violated and whenever social order in the Soviet Union is slightly disrupted, there is always a gap from which opponents of the working people will profit." In view of this, efforts must be made to consolidate and strengthen all organs of control--tribunal, justice and inspection--while establishing a close relationship and coordination among the people's control, people's court, justice, inspection, and people's security sectors.

Led by the party and managed by the administration, we must establish and develop the laboring people's collective mastery in various economic establishments, enterprises, cooperatives and production collectives. We must link the formulation of production plans with the protection of production. We must develop the strength of the political, economic, cultural and social sectors and of the mass organizations of various levels. With the people's Security Forces and the People's Armed Forces serving as a foundation, we must develop the combined strength of strategies in national defense and people's security in all areas throughout the country--from the frontiers to jungles, mountains, and coastal, rural and urban areas. We must promptly detect and suppress espionage and reactionary organizations; prevent enemy agents from infiltrating into our tanks; stop the people from fleeing abroad; do away with reactionary and decadent culture; track down aggressive rascals and hooligans and professional profiteers and smugglers; eliminate other social vices; maintain internal security; oppose negativism; safeguard socialist property and the people's lives; and thwart all of the enemy's counterrevolutionary moves. This is a comprehensive revolutionary struggle which is complex and full of difficulties and which requires that we must prepare specific plans for each particular task in the political, economic and social security fields. Such plans must be studied and implemented by various echelons down to the grassroots level. Led by various party committee echelons, we must create for ourselves an invincible strength to frustrate all of the enemy's sabotage and aggressive schemes, firmly protect independence, freedom and happiness for the people, and ensure the successful implementation of all socialist revolutionary tasks laid down by the fifth party congress.

In order to constantly improve political and ideological knowledge and organizational qualities, we must continue to struggle to carry out successfully the movement to "develop the fine character and improve the fighting strength

of the people's Armed Forces" in the People's Army along with the movement to "build a clean and steadfast People's Security Force and step up the mass movement to safeguard the fatherland's security in the new situation" in the People's Security Force. We must constantly develop the tradition of militant solidarity between these two essential forces of the proletarian dictatorship.

We highly praise the great contributions to the struggle to build socialism, maintain political security and social order and safety and defend the fatherland made by the mass movement for the defense of the fatherland's security, by various people's security organizations, by self-defense militia forces, and by the many semiprofessional security guard units in the border and coastal areas, on offshore islands, in the rural and urban areas and in various public organs, enterprises and cooperatives.

We highly acclaim the many successes of various movements--such as the "three-volunteers movement for collective mastery" among youths, the "new women's movement for national construction and defense" among women, the movement to "emulate in productive labor and in the practice of thrift" among office and manual workers and others--initiated by various sectors and localities. These movements have, in the past, greatly contributed to the cause of socialist construction and national defense as well as to the struggle against the enemy's multisided war of sabotage, and will certainly be able to score still greater successes in the coming period as anticipated in the political report presented at the fifth party congress.

We must step up building the party, the administration, and various mass organizations (trade unions, youth unions and women's associations) so that they can become clean and steadfast. We must enhance socialist legislation, develop the laboring people's collective mastery, and launch an emulation movement to implement the Third Five-Year 1981-85 State Plan and especially the 1982 State Plan. By so doing, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and score new successes in developing production, stabilizing and gradually improving the people's livelihood, strengthening national defense and security, and defending the fatherland.

We must evaluate the situation, recognize the enemy and determine orientations and tasks for advancement in accordance with the resolutions of the congress. Every patriotic and socialism-loving Vietnamese must translate his feelings into concrete revolutionary actions. We must vigorously develop those new positive factors which have already emerged, along with efforts to improve organizational measures and incite an attitude of working more closely to the grassroots level. By changing the economic management mechanism to suit the practical situation, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and score new successes in socialist transformation and construction in our country; and to defeat the enemy's multisided war of sabotage.

With a profound confidence and a determination to struggle persistently to implement the resolutions of the fifth national party congress in a successful manner, I wish all comrade delegates to the congress and all distinguished guests good health and still greater successes.

All for the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness! Long live the glorious Vietnamese Communist Party! Great President Ho Chi Minh lives forever in our cause!

LE VAN LUONG REPORT AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

BK210500 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 29 Mar 82 p 2

[Report by Le Van Luong, head of Hanoi Municipality party organization delegation to the Fifth VCP Congress]

[Text] Following the fourth nationwide party congress, in an atmosphere of seething emulation among the people who were struggling to implement the congress resolutions, the working class, the collectivized peasants, the socialist intellectuals and the laboring people of all strata in the capital stirred up a movement to emulate in production and thrift, a labor movement to build the capital and a movement to build a civilized lifestyle and new cultural families. In light of the lines of socialist revolution and economic construction mapped out by the congress in the party Central Committee resolutions, we have scored achievements in several fields to develop the capital.

The party organization and people in the capital have struggled to overcome difficulties and develop industrial and handicrafts production. Consumer and export goods industries have developed well, strengthening the production force. Many central and local state-run factories and many handicraft and artisan industry cooperatives and production units have expanded. Such advanced models as the tool and equipment factory No 1, the Thong Nhat electro-mechanical plant and the Dong Da carpet weaving cooperative have appeared. Their valuable experiences lie in the fact that they know how to develop socialist collective mastery and creative dynamism by continuously accelerating the movement to promote initiative in improving technical work, increasing the quality of products and manufacturing new items. They have improved management, increased exports so as to be able to import more raw materials and correctly combined the three interests, thus promoting the workers' productive zeal.

Many efforts have been made in agriculture: The food belt and some areas for industrial crops are being formed, while the volume of vegetable, meat, fish and eggs supplied to the urban people has increased. Handicrafts in some districts have developed well, accounting for 50 percent of the agroindustrial output value. The productive labor movement in agriculture has developed vividly since the party Secretariat directive on contracts for finished products with groups of workers and individual workers was implemented.



The cooperatives of Yen So (Thanh Tri), Song Phuong (Dan Phuong), Yen So (Hoai Duc) and Duong Lam (Ba Vi) are good production and management units.

The new Hanoi economic zone in Lam Dong Province has been established and production has begun to stabilize gradually and improve the people's livelihood.

The plan for improving and developing the capital has been approved by the political bureau and government. This is a project of great importance and a project of friendship and cooperation which has received valuable Soviet assistance. At a time when the country is still rife with difficulties, the state is constantly paying attention to making investment in housing construction in the capital. Hundreds of thousands of families of cadres, workers, civil servants and the laboring people have moved into new houses. The supply of water to production and peoples' homes has also increased, while electricity supply has begun to improve. Some important communications and transportation projects such as the Thang Long and Duong bridges, the Red River port and the Noi Bai airport have been and are being built.

The scientific and technical cadres together with workers and various primary installations have conducted many research projects and have adopted several innovations with important effects on the development of the national economy.

The cultural, educational, health, sports and physical training activities in the capital have developed. There have been many valuable literary and artistic works. All people have received first level education. Half the children of school age attend kindergartens and nurseries, twice the figure recorded in 1975. The material bases of education have been strengthened, with some universities, general schools, nurseries, kindergartens and cultural halls being built.

Apart from the progress and achievements recorded, we should frankly point out shortcomings, primarily in our party organization. We have not concentrated on the transformation and development of the capital. Production has developed slowly; labor productivity remains low; economic results and quality are poor; and the industrial production capacity and the potentials--in terms of scientific and technical abilities, manpower and land--have not been used optimally. Our leadership has not been keen enough. The administration of subsidization still prevails in the management system. The struggle between the two paths is weak. Negative phenomena in economic and social life still prevail. Proper emphasis has not been placed on the ideological education of the people, especially youths and teenagers.

Implementing the resolution of the party Central Committee's fourth plenum, the party organization and the people of the municipality have become fully aware of their new enemies and have quickly shifted their efforts toward carrying out the two strategic tasks, namely, building the capital while remaining combat ready. The armed forces and people in the capital have enthusiastically participated in the movement to develop national defense and maintain security. They have urgently carried out activities concerning combat preparedness and the construction of combat fortifications. They have satisfactorily conducted many troop recruitment drives and have participated in many combat and combat

support activities. The armed forces in the capital have developed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Remaining vigilant against the multifaceted sabotage schemes and actions of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, the U.S. imperialists and other types of reactionaries, Hanoi has been active in the struggle against the enemy's psychological and espionage warfare, determined to suppress the counterrevolutionaries, foil the enemy's sabotage and trouble-making schemes and struggle to maintain public order and security.

Party congresses of various echelons from the grassroots to the municipal levels have discussed with great zeal various reports to be presented by the party Central Committee at the fifth national congress of party delegates. They have unanimously agreed on parts dealing with the appraisal of the situation as well as with the analysis of strong points and shortcomings shown in the past. The capital party organization has unanimously noted the correctness of the socialist revolutionary line and the economic construction line laid down by the fourth party congress. We, the delegation of the Hanoi party organization, totally endorse the party Central Committee's political report presented by esteemed Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, a report on the orientations, tasks and main targets in the economic and social fields for the 1981-85 5-year period and for the 1980's, and the party Central Committee's report on party building.

In order to express their determination to endorse various resolutions of this party congress, the people in the capital have launched an emulation movement for productive labor among various sectors such as the industrial, agricultural, communications and transportation, circulation and distribution sectors and so forth in order to greet the congress. At 340 grassroots-level units, there have been 1,480 projects, both minor and major, named "Congress-Greeting Projects" with 136 products of good economic and technical value being turned out so far. We are very pleased to report to the congress that Soviet experts now serving in Vietnam have also actively participated in this emulation movement in order to express their feelings for us.

With its indomitable revolutionary tradition, Hanoi has always been a historic and revolutionary capital of the entire country. We are very pleased to note that the congress has raised the problem of stepping up efforts to renovate and build the capital--the country's cultural and political center--into an economic, scientific, technical and international trade center, and that it has assigned Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City--the country's two major industrial centers--with the task of turning out large quantities of consumer and export goods and other high-quality technical goods in order to meet the requirements of the country. Hanoi must be renovated and built into a modern capital with traditional character in order to deserve the pride in which it is held by our country and people as required in a resolution of the party Central Committee Political Bureau.

As already pointed out in the political report, the responsibility for building the capital rests not only with the party organization and the people in the capital but also with the entire country, the center and various ministries, which, in this capacity, can ask for contributions from various

localities. The party organization and people in the capital will strive to develop its great potential in all respects in order to carry out this important task.

At present, we are continuing to revise a number of targets for our 1982 plan and are urgently devising orientations and tasks in the economic and social fields and establishing a number of major targets for the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan in a bid to achieve the four economic and social targets as outlined in the party Central Committee's political report.

We know that we will face many difficulties in moving from the formulation of guidelines, tasks and objectives to the actual implementation of these objectives. We must formulate specific guidelines, policies and measures to create the necessary material conditions. We think the essential thing is to fully implement what the general secretary has told us several times: to extend more independence in production, business and finance to primary production units, correctly implement the guidelines for the three interests including the assignment of product contracts to groups of workers and individual workers in agriculture, improve the planning task and further intensify the relations between industry and agriculture within the municipality and between the municipality and the various sectors, ministries and provinces, and the relations between imports and exports and the manufacture of goods ordered by foreign countries. Our party and state must struggle to look after the livelihood of cadres, workers and people in the capital; ensure the steady supply of rationed grain and food products; meet the demands for clothing materials, writing paper and medicines; actively repair houses and build new ones; increase the sources of water and electricity supply; resolve the transportation problem; care for and educate children; organize the people's cultural life; build a new lifestyle; strengthen national defense; and assure political security and social order and security.

In the economic and cultural construction of the capital, we will pay attention to strengthening the material and technical bases in depth, make full use of all potential and existing installations, while continuing to build and complete major projects. We will strive to basically resolve the unemployment problem by developing handicrafts and artisan industry production combining agriculture with forestry. We will apply family planning through positive measures in order to reduce the population increase in the capital. There must be in all sectors and primary installations a technical improvement movement and a plan to apply scientific and technical innovations. All sectors and primary installations must improve management regularly, consolidate and perfect socialist production relations, strictly economize on energy and raw materials, and intensify the struggle between the two paths by controlling the market, opposing speculation and smuggling, and overcoming all negative phenomena.

In all fields of activities, we must thoroughly understand and implement the motto: "The state and people work together" and "The center and local government work together."

The party Central Committee report has clearly indicated that it is absolutely essential to intensify the ideological and organizational tasks in order to ensure the successful implementation of the set tasks.

It is imperative to intensify the ideological task to make all party members, people and primary installations thoroughly understand the resolutions and viewpoints of the congress. We must overcome the phenomenon of declining militancy and the attitude of dependence, refusing to develop all the potentials of localities and primary installations. We must overcome the bureaucratic method of nonaccounting management, which conflicts with the concept of planning in combination with the system of socialist business and economic accountability.

We must establish specifically the mechanism of party leadership, state management and the people's mastery by actually implementing the laboring people's collective mastery; strengthening the leadership and militancy of the party organizations and the effectiveness of the administrations at all levels from the municipal to grassroots levels, and quickly perfect the organization and classification of precinct, district, city ward and village authorities.

The key point in the organizational task is still the party development and cadre training task. As a party organization of 150,000 members in 1,824 party bases, we must strive to consolidate the grassroots-level organizations, enhance the quality of party members, perfect the party committee echelons and train cadres. Party organizations must truly be the advisory and leading staff of the people. They must be perseveringly militant party guidelines and policies and capable of organizing the implementation of party and state resolutions and not simply issuing resolutions and prescribing objectives. Consequently the party members must have a sense of sacrifice and devotion. They must struggle bravely and study consistently to raise the standard of their economic and social management knowledge. We must continue to eliminate from the party ranks all those speculative, profit-seeking and demoralized members who lack a sense of organization and discipline and do not pay enough attention to the people's interests. At the same time, we must recruit qualified people into the party, paying attention to recruiting qualified workers and youth union members in order to make the capital party organization truly healthy, firm and worthy of the traditions of a stalwart and indomitable capital where the first party chapter was established. This party chapter has been trusted, loved and educated throughout the revolutionary struggle by Uncle Ho, Comrade Le Duan and other party leaders. It has been the cause for hope and confidence for the people throughout the country. The capital party organization resolved to lead the emulation movement and create a vigorous change in all fields of activities in order to victoriously implement the fifth party congress resolutions. This is a sacred duty which the capital party organization must strenuously and necessarily struggle to fulfill.

May the congress succeed!

I wish all the delegates and distinguished international guests good health!

NGUYEN VAN LINH SPEECH AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

OW081405 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 6 Apr 82

[Excerpt of speech by Nguyen Van Linh, secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee, at the Fifth VCP Congress--recorded]

[Text] The fifth congress resolution determines the economic strategy for the first stage of our country's socialist industrialization. We must, first of all, further advance agriculture, industry, consumer-goods production and heavy industry. Among the economic and social targets for the 1980's, the key target is to further stabilize and improve our people's material and cultural life and to advance toward basically meeting their essential needs in life. We must primarily and satisfactorily resolve the grain and foodstuffs problem and meet the people's need in clothing, education, medical treatment, food, housing, transportation, children's care and other consumer needs. These policies, we think, are highly suited to meet the requirements for developing our national economy in the coming years and the pressing needs in our people's lives countrywide.

Ho Chi Minh City, as an industrial, cultural scientific, and technical center, a center for international relations and an important communications center of the country, will seek by all means possible to successfully carry out the congress resolution. Facts have proved that we have struggled intensively in that direction. As Ho Chi Minh City is an industrial, scientific and technical center, we are clearly aware of its role and responsibility. It must reorganize production so that it cannot only provide support for its own development in industry, small industry and handicrafts and for meeting the requirements of agricultural development in its suburban and rural areas but also provide support for the development of agriculture and of other occupations and trades and for meeting the needs in consumer goods in the Cuu Long River Delta provinces, the Nam Bo Delta, part of the Central Highlands and the southern Trung Bo coastal area. In addition, it must make positive contributions, along with the central level, in the economic cooperation with friendly Kampuchea. Facts have proved that economic cooperation has gradually taken shape in the city's industrial-agricultural structure, which is one of the reasons justifying the city's existence and development.

As Ho Chi Minh City is also a center for international relations and an important communications center, we clearly realize that its role and responsibility are to expand and accelerate, within the scope authorized by the central level,

its exports and imports by coordinating with the other provinces and by encouraging the processing and production of goods for export so as to secure more foreign currencies to buy more raw materials and machine spare parts to support industrial, small industry and handicraft production. The results scored in the economic cooperation with provinces, centrally-run units and friendly Kampuchea, along with the results scored in imports and exports, have greatly contributed to increasing the city's 1981 industrial production over 1980--that is the city's own industrial, small industry and handicraft production and that of the centrally run installations located in the city--by 36 percent, its budget receipts by 21 percent, and its import-export volume by nearly 200 percent. On that basis, we can initially provide guidance for the struggle to further stabilize the market and to improve somewhat the living conditions of cadres, workers, civil servants and laborers.

One of the reasons for the city's development in industrial production, as I have earlier noted, is that we have succeeded in developing the production capacity of every grassroots-level unit thanks to our determination to provide guidance on implementation and on planning from the grassroots level upward and on building three-part plans. It is also due to the fact that we have concerned ourselves with the livelihood and interests of the workers and laborers and with harmonizing the three types of interests; pushed ahead the application of the contract wage and piecework wage systems; boldly decentralized management by assigning the precincts, districts, city wards and villages, their own shares in management; deepened our economic management in the fields of industrial, small industry and handicraft production and of circulation and distribution; kept in close touch with grassroots-level units so as to eliminate difficulties in time and to help further expand production; broadened the movement to learn from and emulate model workers and production units and to increase their numbers; and stepped up imports and exports so as to achieve a balance.

Regarding small industry and handicraft production, thanks to our efforts to intensively develop the creativity and professional skills of workers, our flexible application of policies and of appropriate key measures for promoting effectiveness and versatility in production, and our growing capability in sense market needs, we have succeeded in producing a large volume of varied commodities and in making positive contributions to increasing the city's industrial production. The above, concrete results have affirmed more clearly that the resolution of the Sixth VCP Central Committee Plenum and Resolution No 26 of the Political Bureau are correct and that they should be further implemented positively and correctly.

Regarding resolving problems in livelihood, the city has positively grasped the spirit of the resolutions of the fifth party congress and is continuing to implement Resolution No 26 and Directive No 109 of the Political Bureau as well as the resolutions of the city party organization's second congress of delegates on this matter. In order to improve distribution and circulation work, we have urgently expanded the socialist business and trade network, comprising the state-run and cooperative trade systems, and have striven to get hold of most of the industrial goods and to organize the sale of daily necessities to the workers and laborers.

Parallel with expanding socialist business, we have gradually stabilized the market. We have adopted positive measures to increase income and ensure the correct implementation of the tax policy, thus fulfilling our obligation to the central government and stabilizing the regional budget. We have carried out studies in making recommendations to rationally readjust the income of the various economic components and strata of the people. We have correctly implemented the conservation and antiwaste system. We have adopted really concrete plans by assigning conservation targets to each sector, precinct and district, regarding them as obligatory targets in considering the completion of plans and awards for 1982. We have effectively stepped up the fight against negative phenomena, striven to reduce, to the lowest level, the value of property lost due to waste, theft, misplacement and damage and have positively protected and guarded state property.

While boldly pondering, searching and applying the directives and resolutions of the Central Committee to the concrete conditions of the city, with a view to promoting production and gradually stabilizing life, we do not forget a fundamental issue in our country's present situation, namely, even though enjoying peace, we have to defeat, at all costs, the many-sided war of sabotage of the Chinese hegemonic expansionists who are colluding with the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, while standing ready to successfully rebuff the enemy should he dare to recklessly wage a big war.

As Ho Chi Minh City was previously the lair, the center and the capital of the U.S.-puppet colonialist regime, besides the patriotic and revolutionary tradition of the working people and other segments of the people, there still exist many negative aspects which the U.S. imperialists and Chinese expansionists are resolutely exploiting to carry out their many-sided war of sabotage. Consequently, we fully agree with the resolution of the fifth congress, namely, that we must resolutely defeat the enemy's many-sided war of sabotage. In order to ensure the fulfillment of this requirement, our whole party organization must exert efforts in making the people of the city see the enemy's perfidious plot and clearly understand the real state of our country's present situation; at a time when the rear area is living in peace, at the forefront, the northern border, our combatants' and people's blood still flows and in friendly Kampuchea, the blood of our combatants who are discharging their international obligation and of friendly armed forces is still flowing. The struggle for national independence and socialism is still going on in a fierce and complex manner.

Over the past years, although there has been the movement "for the fatherland's forefront" in our city, we must keep it boiling continuously to closely link the front to the rear areas and to resolutely oppose pacifist thoughts. We must work daily so that both the party members and the people clearly realize that in the present many-sided war of sabotage, the city is the enemy's key point of attack. We must urgently wage the struggle in a systematic, integrated and consistent manner in many fields. We must coordinate the security forces and the armed forces with the forces of the masses to smash all his political, as well as economic, sabotage acts and all his psychological allegations and reactionary activities.

We must step up the struggle to repulse and gradually eradicate the negative phenomena in society, sternly punish and eliminate rowdy elements, reactionary vestiges, dishonest merchants and other delinquents and dregs of society. To do so, we must step up all necessary measures to consolidate and perfect the party, the administrative system and the mass organizations in organizational and ideological aspects. We must reinforce the combat strength of the city party organization and rapidly change the structure of the working class component in the party to clearly show that ours is a party organization of an industrial city.

Certainly, our party organization will receive the resolutions of the fifth congress with all of its great confidence and will turn this confidence into action and into the strength of the mass movement to successfully fulfill the tasks and targets set forth by the congress, thus becoming worthy of a city having the honor of bearing beloved President Ho Chi Minh's name.



## HOANG VAN KIEU SPEECH TO FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

OW151235 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 14 Apr 82

[Excerpts of speech by Hoang Van Kieu, chairman of the State Nationalities Commission, at the Fifth VCP Congress--recorded; date not given]

[Text] Our party's line and policies toward nationalities have always been consistent and correct and have developed through the various stages of revolution. Continuing to implement the party's nationality policy reflected in the fourth party congress resolution, we must, in the new situation, simultaneously carry out two strategic tasks, to successfully build socialism and to effectively defend the socialist fatherland.

We must pay attention to developing our economy and culture and to improving, step by step, our people's livelihood in order to gradually overcome the differences in the level of development among the nationalities in the course of our nation's advance. In performing this task in the past, we have shown many strong points and gathered many experiences, but we also have had shortcomings that we have not been able to review satisfactorily. Making surveys of the economic situation, livelihood, and cultural level of the nationalities in the various localities serves as the basis for formulating policies and measures in developing the economy, cultural level and living conditions of our compatriots. While redistributing the work force countrywide, we must urgently promote sedentary farming and settlement patterned after models that have emerged in the respective regions. Satisfactorily promoting sedentary farming and settlement is not only a pressing economic requirement that helps preserve our national resources, but also a major part of the nationality policy. Under the principle of encouraging nationality laborers to voluntarily work in state farms, state forests, construction sites and enterprises, we will continue to consolidate agricultural cooperativization in the north and steadily lead southern nationality farmers onto the path of collectivization. We must attach importance to developing the collective economy while properly encouraging the development of the family-based economy. While promoting and coordinating agriculture and forestry, we must endeavor to develop local industries, small industry, handicrafts and traditional occupations and trades, expand communications and transportation and satisfactorily carry out distribution and circulation.

The mountain region and the border areas, which have been ravaged by Chinese troops in the past, are experiencing many more difficulties in production and

the people's livelihood. We must, through various methods and measures, assist our compatriots in stabilizing and expanding production, and see to it that supplies of essentials reach the intended recipients. We must continue to promote educational, public health and cultural work, gradually implement educational reform so as to enhance the quality of education and review educational activities in the mountain region so as to ensure the application of more efficient methods and measures. Besides promoting cultural activities countrywide, we should search for and develop the valuable assets of nationality cultures and encourage new literary and artistic works with nationality themes. We must do a good job in carrying out the policy on nationality writing promulgated by the state. We must further step up public health and sanitation work, especially at the grassroots level, and pay attention to putting to good advantage the traditional medical recipes and treatment methods of the nationality compatriots. We must further strengthen the unshakable solidarity among the nationalities countrywide in order to successfully build socialism and effectively defend the socialist fatherland. We should keep in mind and propagate widely, for educational purposes, President Ho's teaching: the compatriots of Kinh, Tho, Gio Rai, E De, or Banar nationality, or of any other nationality, are all children of Vietnam; they are blood brothers. We hang together in life and death; we share weal and woe; to provide mutual assistance. Rivers may dry up, mountains may erode, but our solidarity will never weaken. We are determined to pool our forces to steadfastly preserve our freedom and independence. Now that the entire Vietnamese people are united in a monolithic bloc of unprecedented strength, no reactionary force can divide them.

The Vietnamese land is the common property of all Vietnamese nationalities, who share weal and woe. Every inch of land within our fatherland's borders is the sacred property of all nationalities living in beloved Vietnam who are resolved to defend it at all costs. President Ho once said: We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our country and live in bondage.

We must consolidate all basic party organizations, administrations, and mass organizations and intensively train nationality cadres in all fields. We must, primarily and rapidly, train leading and managerial cadres, especially for the district and grassroots levels. We must have projects and plans for training nationality cadres, with attention paid to training cadres for each locality and nationality, so that each nationality will have a core of cadres who are absolutely loyal to the party's revolutionary cause and are capable of providing leadership in implementing political tasks in the locality. Under the leadership of the various party committee echelons, all sectors are responsible for training nationality cadres for their own use.

By intensively consolidating and developing the basic party organizations and mass organizations and training nationality cadres, we realistically ensure the right to collective mastery of the people of all nationalities in reunified socialist Vietnam. We must endeavor to strengthen solidarity among nationality cadres who should work together. The important resolutions to be unanimously approved at this congress, including the one dealing with nationality policy, will certainly be warmly welcomed by the people of all nationalities.

I am fully confident that all party committee echelons, state organs and mass organizations, on the basis of thoroughly grasping party policies and the work of their echelons and sectors, will devise concrete measures for satisfactorily carrying out the party's line and policies on nationalities in order to score increasingly greater achievements in nationality work.

NGUYEN DUC THUAN SPEECH AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

OW101247 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 9 Apr 82

[Excerpt of speech by Nguyen Duc Thuan, VCTU chairman, at Fifth VCP Congress--recorded]

[Text] We fully agree with the political report presented by the venerated and beloved party General Secretary Le Duan and with the reports on economic construction tasks and party building tasks presented by the party Central Committee at the congress.

We wish to express some more ideas about the building of a strong workers contingent in order to insure successful implementation of the tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland of Vietnam.

Our party has affirmed: To build socialism, we must carry out socialist industrialization, and to carry out socialist industrialization, we must have a large, comprehensively strong working class. Over the past 5 years, under the party's leadership, along with the agricultural and industrial development, our country's workers contingent has grown much stronger both quantitatively and qualitatively. Compared with the first year of the Second Five-Year State Plan, the total number of workers and civil servants has increased 28.7 percent, with those in the sector directly engaged in production increasing 40.7 percent, while the contingent of technical workers has increased 60.3 percent. Despite the many harsh difficulties caused by the war aftermath, the enemy's ravage, natural calamities, a lack of material supplies, raw materials and energy and despite difficulties in its livelihood, the working class has remained confident in the party's leadership and has constantly upheld the revolutionary spirit in production, combat, and the defense of production and enterprises. It adopts a correct attitude in the face of complex developments of the situation in our country and the rest of the world. It is worthy of being a strong support for our party and state. Many more new factors have emerged and are continuing to emerge within the workers movement which are tapping potential abilities, applying scientific and technological advances, developing initiatives for stabilizing and boosting production, struggling to overcome the practice of bureaucratic economic management based on the administration of subsidies, and building a system of socialist management and business transactions. This has clearly manifested the Vietnamese working class' initiative and spirit of self-reliance in overcoming difficulties.

However, besides the strong points that manifest its revolutionary nature, the Vietnamese workers contingent still shows its weaknesses in some aspects. Its level of awareness of socialism and of its responsibilities in collective mastery is still low. A majority of workers, being still heavily influenced by the psychology and habits of small-scale producers, has not yet consciously observed labor discipline. Many negative manifestations in production and people's lives still remain. The weaknesses of the workers contingent and the objective difficulties in production conditions are curbing the development of the emulation movement in productive labor and economization among the Vietnamese workers and civil servants and are hampering the building of our socialist worker.

Under our country's present revolutionary conditions, the building of a stable and strong contingent of socialist workers must be primarily and closely coordinated with the motivation and organization of workers and civil servants in successfully carrying out the three revolutions, namely, the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution being the kingpin. The best general method for carrying out the three revolutions is to successfully launch a fervent large-scale socialist emulation movement among workers and civil servants. However, in our production organization and management, many shortcomings still remain which hinder the emulation movement. For example, our production plans, which have not been truly built from the grassroots level, do not have a firm basis. Serious shortages in material supplies, raw materials, and energy have left hundreds of thousands of workers with not enough work [khoong dqur vieecj lamf] and seriously affected national income. Wages have lost something of their actual values. If we concern ourselves solely with measures for political and ideological education while maintaining a loose management organization, one which is of the administrative subsidies type and which is less concerned with economic efficiency, we cannot consolidate labor discipline and the emulation movement among the workers cannot develop in a continuous, widespread and increasingly stronger manner.

Regarding worker training, so far only more than 50 percent of workers have been trained in vocational schools and classes. The average level of our skilled workers is still low and progress is slow.

Working conditions and labor safety measures in many production installations have not been improved; occupational diseases have developed; labor accidents are still numerous; and the health of workers and civil servants has worsened, especially that of workers engaged in heavy work and workers handling toxic materials. Some workers who had not had enough time to become high-level skilled workers were forced to give up their jobs because of loss of strength. The number of workers forced to retire because of their premature loss of labor capability is increasing.

The pay and incentive systems are no longer suitable and cannot ensure proper generation of labor force for reproduction and no longer can prod workers to enthusiastically engage in production. Being the direct production force turning out 49.2 percent of gross social products, or 38.7 percent of national income, the workers, due to still irrational adjustment policies, are paid the lowest wages compared with those of the other strata of people.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the education about the working class within the party, at schools and in society, and appropriate education methods are still lacking. Therefore, our society in general still does not have a correct understanding of the position and role of the working class. Although reminders of the task of building the party among workers have often been given by the party Central Committee, over the past 5 years since the convening of the fourth party congress the percentage of party members with workers background and the percentage of worker-party members have increased very little.

The causes of the lingering problems mentioned above are shortcomings on the part of party committee echelons' leadership, shortcomings in state policies and planning, shortcomings in the mass organizations' education and motivation tasks and, especially, shortcomings on the part of our trade unions.

Building a comprehensively strong working class is an immediate and long-term requirement for ensuring success of socialism. Therefore, this requirement must be thoroughly grasped and included in economic and social plans, in state economic and labor policies, in the leadership of party committee echelons and in the activities of mass organizations.

We must consider the building of a stable and strong working class both as one of the major requirements and targets of state economic and social plans and as a condition for ensuring successful implementation of those plans. Plan building methods must be renovated. Efforts must be made to vigorously motivate workers to build plans and discuss measures for implementation so as to tap all potentials of production installations, create prerequisites and conditions for production, ensure that workers have enough work and sufficient income to help them generate proper labor force for reproduction and stabilize their families' lives.

We must formulate an efficient management mechanism and promptly amend the labor, pay and incentive policies so as to encourage the workers to concern themselves with production efficiency, thriftiness, improvement of techniques, and rationalization of production. We must devise preferential treatment policies toward technical workers and cadres and good management cadres and policies to encourage workers doing hard work or handling toxic materials and compensate them properly for their work. Every year, production installations must map out plans for training and further training workers so as to enhance their skills, for improving working conditions, and for ensuring labor safety for workers.

We must, through workers' revolutionary movements and, especially, through emulation movements in productive labor and thriftiness, educate, train, and build a contingent of socialist workers. Under the leadership of party committee echelons, management agencies and trade unions at all echelons should closely coordinate their activities in applying educational, economic, and managerial measures so as to successfully organize fervent, widespread and efficient emulation movements among workers and civil servants. We must, through workers' revolutionary movements, select and train outstanding workers and then admit them to the party so as to further strengthen the component of workers directly engaging in production within the party and party committee echelons.

Party committee echelons should regularly educate and train cadres and party members on the stand and viewpoint of the working class. Mass organizations and schools from the general school level to college must have programs to provide education on the working class and job orientation so as to enable our country's younger generation to clearly understand the role and historic mission of the working class and train themselves to become worthy inheritors of the traditions of the heroic Vietnamese working class.

DANG QUOC BAO SPEECH AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

OW121314 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 11 Apr 82

[Excerpts from speech by Dang Quoc Bao, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Central Committee, at the Fifth VCP Congress--recorded]

[Text] The party Central Committee's political report devoted an appropriate portion to youth activities in the new situation. I fully approve the contents, targets and measures mentioned on youth activities. Today everyone realizes more clearly youth's role and position in society. With this role and position, youth is a great class force that all class enemies in the past as well as the Chinese hegemonic expansionists in collusion with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces at present consider to be an object to direct their constant attack at.

Since the beginning our party has always treated the task of building new men--along with that of building up the new economy and creating a new production force in our country--as a task of strategic significance for Vietnam's revolution. The party Central Committee political report has pointed to the need to share the responsibility among the state, the sectors, the organizations--including the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union--and all of society in organizing and educating youth.

A host of urgent matters confront youth and youth activities, requiring great efforts by the entire society. Our youth today live in a new era. Their levels in all aspects are raised. Their psychology, physiology, inclination, aspirations, desires and so forth are developed. They also differ in age level, regional residence, ethnic nationality, religion, profession, educational level, environment and so forth. Consequently we must seek to understand, and amass practical understanding and reasoning and adopt a scientific attitude in dealing with issues relating to youth and youth activities.

Taking up heavy responsibility from the party in organizing, training and fostering the young generation, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union must actively and rapidly renovate its method of action so as to exploit all potentials of society in mobilizing the strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system in its youth activities. On the other hand, the fact that youth and the youth movement are developing every day demands that Youth Union activities be truly sharp, positive and close to the masses. They must overcome all manifestations of bureaucracy and passiveness and at the same time must



oppose all the plots of the enemy, who is resorting to all sorts of stratagems to trick the youth.

Dear comrades, the common line and social and economic strategy defined by the fifth party congress have pointed to the common objective of our country's revolution in the future. From this common objective, the immediate as well as long-term task of mobilizing the youth is to materialize the youth's vanguard position in the establishment and development of the right of socialist collective mastery of the working people, including youths, ensuring that youth firmly maintain the role of shock force in national construction and defense and at the same time to endeavor to train and foster the youth into new socialist men who are developed in all aspects and who faithfully and outstandingly carry forward the party's and nation's cause.

Our revolution is now entering a new situation. Our youth, educated and trained by the party, have shown their fine quality and have proved to be a major force standing at the forefront of economic, cultural, social battlefronts and in the fight against the enemy. Our people are entering the eighties with extremely great tasks and fierce trials. This requires that we urgently train and foster the new generation of people and teach them to link their lives to the country's destiny, to the people and to the socialist regime so that they will voluntarily stand up to cope with all difficulties and all enemies, discharge their obligation as the shock force that creates the new society and firmly defend the socialist fatherland.

For this reason, the task of teaching communism to youth becomes even more urgent. Acting on the sacred testament of most beloved Uncle Ho, to foster a revolutionary generation for the future is an extremely important and necessary task. First of all, we must step up teaching the party's lines and policies, the notion and spirit of collective mastery and the labor and national defense obligation, making the youth clearly see the plots and actions of Chinese hegemonic expansionism, which is colluding with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces and striving to oppose our country's revolution and the world revolutionary movement.

We must teach the youth about the struggle between the two paths--socialism and capitalism--about law, the revolutionary situation and task, proletarian internationalism and so forth. We must actively foster the young generation so that it will know about and feel proud of the heroic traditions of the nation, the working class, the party, the armed forces and the youth union. With a view toward helping them determine their revolutionary ideals in a positive and correct manner, we must equip youth with a scientific world outlook. We must train youth in revolutionary ethics, educate them to live, fight, work and study according to the great Uncle Ho's example.

In the organizing work, first of all we must attract the youth into various forms of political, cultural and professional organizations, thus enabling them to find their positions in society and in their organizations and we must be concerned with the question of solving youth employment. In organizing the young generation, the question of decisive significance is the direct party leadership in building and consolidating the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the vanguard unit and the nucleus that unites all strata of youth.

With its function as the party's effective arm and trusted reserve unit, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union must better fulfill the responsibility entrusted it to the party, namely, to care for and guide the teenagers and children and build up the Ho Chi Minh vanguard teenagers unit and the Ho Chi Minh children's unit. To care for and educate teenagers and children is the inevitable question of the proletarian revolution lying within the nature of the socialist regime. Consequently it is also the responsibility of the entire society.

Along with stepping up the youth's broad emulation movement at the grassroots level, we recommend that the party and the state entrust the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union with a number of industrial and agricultural projects at national, interprovincial, provincial or city level to be called "communist youth union projects," aimed at motivating the youth to contribute their efforts, train and involve themselves in socialist construction. In national defense, we must develop the positive effect of coordinating and combining the three forces, the People's Army, the People's Security Force and youth, to create a force for successfully implementing the tasks of combat readiness and fighting in defense of the fatherland to preserve political security, public order and social safety.

On the cultural and educational front, the youth union and teenagers unit must continue to contribute their efforts to pushing forward the "two good" emulation movement aimed at the objectives of raising the educational quality and training in revolutionary ethics; intensifying cultural, literary, sports and physical education activities; building a new lifestyle and new socialist men; eliminating the cultural vestiges of neocolonialism and eradicating superstitious practices.

The youth are the shock force in production, economic construction and development, national defense and cultural and educational development. At the same time they are the shock force in the emulation movement to practice thrift and struggle against negative phenomena in the economy and social life.

PHAN XUAN DOT REPORT TO FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

BK041342 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 8 Apr 82 p 3

[Excerpt from report by Phan Xuan Dot, minister of forestry]

[Text] Forestry is an important component of the national economy. As such it is always closely linked with the economic and social development of the entire country. Forestry cannot develop if it is separated from agriculture, industry and many other sectors. To develop forestry, we must quickly reorganize forestry production rationally and scientifically and advance our country's forestry from its fragmented and natural state to large-scale socialist production. On the basis of taking full advantage of the country's abundant potential and applying the formula of uniform development, comprehensive business operations and combined farming activities, the forestry sector must achieve the objective of preserving and building stable and concentrated economic forestry assets so as to meet two basic and long-term demands, namely, timber supply and flood prevention. First of all, it must effectively manage, preserve and exploit the existing forested areas and promote the planting of new forests by closely combining forestry with agriculture in such a way as to suit the natural economic characteristics of each area.

At present our most important task is scrupulously to protect the existing areas of natural and planted forests, including the forests of special trees, birds and other animals. We must strictly implement the regulations of forest preservation and promptly check forest fires and wanton logging. We must intensify and broaden the education of the people of all strata on the great usefulness and effect of forests so as to raise their sense of responsibility as citizens for the task of preserving and restoring the country's resources. We must gradually stabilize the forested areas throughout the country and in each locality and ensure that all forests and plots of land are effectively managed, protected and used.

We must accelerate the tempo of afforestation according to the formula of concentration, specialization and intensive cultivation so as to ensure stable and long-term production, thereby steadily meeting the demands for raw materials for industry, construction and export. We must plant trees on bare hills and coastal sandbanks where there is an urgent need for flood prevention and where there are proper conditions for this task to be carried out expeditiously. We must bring into full play the great achievements and rich experience of more than 20 years of carrying out lunar new year tree-planting drives in compliance

with President Ho Chi Minh's instructions. We must continue to launch vigorous, constant and broad tree-planting movements throughout the country. We must see to it that trees are planted according to programs and plans, that the quality of this work is ensured and that it will become increasingly efficient. We must quickly increase the sources of firewood, forestry products and other special products to meet the demands of the local people and eventually to produce large amounts of valuable goods for export while contributing to increasing the ratio of the forest cover throughout the country.

On the basis of preserving and satisfactorily developing our forest assets, we must exploit them rationally to meet our minimum annual needs. We must ensure, however, that the trees felled are replaced and that proper conditions are created for the depleted forests to quickly recover and satisfactorily develop in conformity with our economic targets. We must practice thrift, make the fullest use of timber and other forestry products and use these resources more efficiently.

Combining agriculture with forestry production is a progressive and highly effective mode of production. Such a combination is not only an urgent requirement of forestry but also an objective demand of the country at this juncture. We must combine agriculture with forestry production not only to increase the supplies of grain, foodstuffs and other products for society but, more important, to accelerate afforestation on tens of millions of hectares of bare hills, prevent erosion, restore the fertility of degraded soil, protect the environment and maintain the balance of the ecological system. This is also an important measure aimed at fully exploiting our potential in land and manpower, stabilizing and developing various population centers and effectively implementing the labor redistribution policy nationwide.

Stepping up the settlement of nomads to help make the mountain areas economically, politically and militarily strong and creating conditions for stabilizing the production and living conditions of millions of people who are still practicing nomadism constitute an active measure that is necessary to manage and preserve forests, effectively use forested land and curb slash-burning and forest fires. We must promote the allocation of land and forests to cooperatives and families for preservation, improvement and afforestation according to state programs, plans and policies.

Reorganizing forestry production at the district level is an important task in developing and preserving our forest assets. We must quickly improve zoning, build key forestry production areas by integrating forestry with agriculture and industry in a rational forestry-agricultural industrial or agricultural-forestry-industrial structure, depending on the characteristics of the resources and the socioeconomic conditions of each area. We must implement the slogans "the state and people work together" and "the central authorities and the localities work together" so as to fully exploit the great potential and aggregate strength of the entire people, the central authorities and the localities in building and developing forestry throughout the country and in each locality. We must strengthen the management work of the forestry sector to correctly concentrate our efforts on and effectively carry out the key tasks dictated by the demands of the national economy. At the same time, we

must rationally carry out the division of labor and decentralization and satisfactorily settle the relationship between sector, local and territorial management in forestry. We must effectively use our material and technical bases and capital and give priority to making investments in developing key areas where there are favorable conditions for production to be developed quickly. This is aimed at expeditiously creating abundant and concentrated sources of goods in order to meet local and foreign demands satisfactorily.

NGUYEN NGOC TRIU REPORT TO FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

BK051300 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 8 Apr 82 p 3

[Excerpt from report by Nguyen Ngoc Triu, minister of agriculture, to Fifth VCP Congress: "Advance Agriculture a Step Further to Large-Scale Socialist Production"]

[Text] In order to outstandingly develop and advance agriculture a step further toward large-scale socialist production, we believe that we must pool the efforts of all sectors and echelons throughout the country for the following tasks:

At present the most urgent task of strategic importance is to concentrate on resolving the problem of grain and food products.

This problem must be resolved in several ways: On the one hand, we must accelerate the production of grain and food products; on the other, we must resolve to use grain economically, improve our diet, consume grain in line with the local production capacity and adopt birth control measures to prevent the population from increasing too rapidly. We must relocate the work force and population throughout the country to alleviate shortages of grain in those densely populated areas where production is difficult and transportation is urgent in the initial transitory stage of advancing from small to large-scale socialist production. Among these tasks to be carried out simultaneously, the acceleration of production is the most vital and decisive while the economical use of grain is of paramount importance.

We must do our utmost to intensively cultivate and increase crops by fully using all the land in the country's two major rice areas--the Mekong and Red River Deltas--and the major rice areas in each province in order to increase the yield and production volume. At the same time, we must strive to vigorously develop the cultivation of secondary food crops such as vegetables and legumes in terms of area, productivity and production volume and must organize their processing and consumption.

Accelerating the intensive cultivation of crops to boost their yields is the "prime strategic guideline" for grain production in particular and agricultural production in general.

Multicropping is a major guideline which, for little expenditure, can bring about quick results in expanding the cultivated area.

Along with concentrating on intensive cultivation and multicropping on reclaimed land, which is the present main guideline, we must have positive and rational plans to redistribute the labor force among various regions in order to expand the agricultural area, develop forestry and combine agriculture with forestry in the new economic zones.

While concentrating on resolving the grain problem, we should quickly increase the supply of raw materials to industry and the quantity of agricultural products for export in order to obtain equipment for agriculture, contribute positively to equipping the national economy and, at the same time, meet the requirements of importing consumer goods essential to the people's life.

With a view to fulfilling the above requirements, it is necessary to organize a rational agricultural structure for each region which can meet the local demands for raw materials from centrally run factories and for valuable agricultural products. These products must be produced easily by the people, call for little investment, not take much land from the grain production area and be popular on the international market.

To ensure the successful implementation of agricultural development tasks and objectives and advance agriculture a step further to large-scale socialist production, one of the most important and urgent tasks is to reorganize agriculture along with transforming the old production relations in the Nam Bo rural areas, consolidating and improving socialist production relations in agriculture throughout the country and urgently changing anew our economic management system.

The reorganization of agriculture throughout the country in the direction of gradually advancing toward large-scale socialist production as we are doing now means that we must, on the basis of correct agricultural, forestry and industrial planning, establish production guidelines, structures and organizations in line with the situation in each region and in the direction of gradually concentrating and specializing crop cultivation, combining agriculture with forestry and associating agriculture and the processing industry and production with transportation and the organization of consumption.

We must primarily base ourselves on the conditions of labor, land, sectors, professions and other existing material facilities in reorganizing the work force and production in each primary installation (cooperatives, villages and farms) and in each multicropping, making full use of land and expanding sectors and jobs on the spot. At the same time, we should plan to relocate people from those areas with unemployed excess manpower to thinly populated areas with much land so as to establish new economic zones.

In our agriculture the collective economy has played a vital role for a long period. We should constantly and comprehensively consolidate and strengthen all the agricultural cooperatives in order to secure total victory for socialism in the countryside. We should immediately stabilize the organizational scales, giving cooperatives a suitable production structure. We should raise

the level of management in line with each developmental step of the production forces. We should also raise the cadres' standard of managerial knowledge in order to increase labor productivity, the economic results and the quality of products, ensuring that the business of cooperatives is clearly superior to that of individuals. On this basis we will enable cooperatives to fulfill their obligations and provide increasingly more agricultural products to the state. We should constantly strengthen the material and technical bases and the welfare facilities of collectives, thus steadily improving and raising the living standard of cooperative members through each crop season and each production year.

In the past 20 years we have built nearly 370 state farms. Although these farms are still weak in several respects, they have annually contributed large amounts of goods for export, provided many seeds and breeding animals to agriculture and begun to provide some capital accumulation to the state. We should continue to consolidate and strengthen state farms, change anew the management system, eliminate the managerial method of administrative subsidization, give units more independence in management, production and business and make more in-depth investment so that the state farms can develop their existing potentials, increase the economic results and contribute considerably to advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

We should attentively help, encourage and guide the members of cooperatives and state farms in developing their family economy in the right direction.

Along with vigorously developing the collective and state-run economies, we should turn into good use the economy of individuals and other private sectors in those areas where agriculture has not been cooperativized in order to increase the supply of agricultural products and commodities to society. At the same time, we should attentively overcome negative manifestations, especially the spontaneous capitalist force of these economic elements.

We should resolutely change anew the management system, continue to extend independence in production and business to localities and primary installations, enhance the responsibility and authority of sectors in the chain of command and production process and establish policies to stimulate agriculture comprehensively. As an immediate task, we should make timely additions and adjustments to such irrational policies as that concerning the selling prices of production means and organize the scrupulous implementation of published incentive policies to stimulate production. The new management system and policies must be able to resolve present problems, strongly encourage the optimal use of land and labor and create conditions for agriculture to develop favorably and accumulate assets for expanding production.

Effective 1982 we must create some definite changes in the reorganization of production and work force and in the economic management of agriculture within every cooperative and state farm and in each district.

Our agriculture is advancing from small- to large-scale socialist production. This advance requires that we accelerate the scientific and technical revolution in agriculture by intensively building the material and technical bases



of agriculture and quickly applying technological innovations to production. This is a very important matter to ensure the successful implementation of agricultural objectives and to advance agriculture a step further to large-scale socialist production.

We have made much valuable scientific and technical progress which has contributed to promoting the intensive cultivation to increase the productivity of crops and animals. We have changed our crop cultivation patterns and crop seasons by refining generalities and making in-depth exploitation and increasing the effectiveness in using labor and land to increase labor productivity in agriculture. It is regrettable that the popularization and application of scientific and technical innovations is still slow, irregular and loosely led. In the time ahead we should pay proper attention to this matter.

HOANG QUOC VIET SPEECH AT FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

OW111125 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Excerpts of speech by Hoang Quoc Viet, VFF Central Committee Presidium chairman, at the Fifth VCP Congress--recorded]

[Text] I fully approve the contents of reports presented at the congress. May I express some views on the work regarding mass agitation and the front in the present situation. As pointed out by the political report, the content of the present mass agitation work is new. We understand that this content consists of fully exercising the laboring people's collective mastery while simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions with a view to implementing the two strategic tasks, namely, building socialism and firmly defending our beloved fatherland. This is also the content of the revolutionary mass movement in the new stage.

The present needs of everyday life urge us to unceasingly take care of the people's material and cultural life. For this reason, the emulation movement for labor productivity and practicing economy and against negative phenomena must really become a movement central to all mass movements, and other movements must contribute to stimulating this central movement with the common aim of serving the socialist fatherland and promoting the people's happiness. To advance the emulation movement for labor productivity and practicing economy and against negative phenomena vigorously, actively and continuously, we should, in our guidance work, harmoniously coordinate the interests of the state, collective and individual laborers. It is very important to pay attention to laborers' legitimate interests and there must be close coordination among administrative organs, the front and mass organizations.

According to the political report, the mass agitation work has achieved some new progress. That means that, after the country's reunification and after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship system on the state level, this work has been carried out with all the might of the system, that is, by all party organizations, state organs and mass organizations.

Mass organizations represent the collective interests and rights of various classes and strata of people. They are the schools of socialism for the masses, the links between the party and the masses and the solid support of the state. The might of mass organizations resides in their ability to gather the masses and whip up a vigorous revolutionary movement. Mass organizations should

effect a new change in educational work, mobilize and organize the masses and intensify the building of basic installations and the corps of cadres.

Over the past years, the VFF, a factor in the success of our country's revolution, has developed the tradition of all-people solidarity, strengthened the people's political unanimity and unity of minds, participated in building and consolidating the people's administration and educated and motivated the people to uphold the sense of collective mastery and to emulate in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

The VFF, a representative of the people, should constantly reflect their thoughts and aspirations before the party and state and motivate all strata of people to participate in building their administration, drafting and implementing policies and laws and managing economic and social affairs while preventing all violations of the party's line, state policies and laws, socialist property, the people's interests and collective mastery.

The VFF should better carry out the campaign to build a new lifestyle, a new work style, new customs and habits, an orderly and hygienic life at home and at public places and a family of new culture with healthy and beautiful traits in everyday life. To fulfill its functions, the VFF should properly carry out the principle of coordinated and unified action, especially at basic installations and among the population where the three revolutions take place daily and where there is a direct contact with the citizens' life and interests.

Our people's knowledge in all spheres has been constantly improved and their needs and aspirations have constantly changed. That requires that the work regarding mass agitation and the front effect a new change in organizational and operational methods. It is necessary to improve the knowledge in all fields of the cadres and party members assigned to do this work.

To overcome the past shortcomings and carry out the work regarding mass agitation and the front consistent with the requirements of revolutionary tasks in the new stage, we should have a resolution on this work for the present situation. Pending the resolution, all party committee echelons should strengthen leadership over the work, entrust this work to those who are capable and experience and create conditions for the front to properly fulfill its function of coordinating and unifying the actions of mass organizations and the front's organizations, especially at basic installations and in populated areas in the districts so that the political tasks set forth by the party may be carried out.

It is necessary to formulate a proper system and policy of training, education and treating the cadres assigned to work in the front and mass organizations. In my opinion, under the present conditions, we should set up organs for scientific study of each element among the masses, especially the youths and women, to help the party committee echelons make accurate decisions based on scientific data related to the mass agitation work.

Dear comrade delegates: It is difficult to eliminate an old system; but it is more difficult to build a new society, a socialist society, especially in our country. However, our people are united in this enterprise. As noted by Uncle Ho, without the people's support, a very easy task cannot be completed; but no matter how difficult a task may be, it can be achieved with popular support. With the party's correct revolutionary line, with the people's sympathy and support and with the boundless creative capabilities of all strata of people, our party and people will surely successfully build socialism and effectively protect our beloved fatherland.

## FOREIGN DELEGATES ADDRESS CONGRESS

USSR Delegate Gorbachev

OW280751 Hanoi VNA in English 0707 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--On behalf of the Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people, the CPSU delegation has conveyed its warmest fraternal greetings to the congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, to all communists and working people of Vietnam. In his address at today's session of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Hanoi, M.S. Gorbachev, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said:

"Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, who takes constant concern of the consolidation and strengthening of the Soviet-Vietnamese relations, has asked our delegation to convey to the Fifth Congress of the C.P.V. sincere wishes for a fine success of the congress. He has emphasized that as in the past, the Soviet Union will always stand in the future shoulder to shoulder with Socialist Vietnam in endeavours for economic development, better welfare of the people, and the promotion of the gains of socialism. The Vietnamese comrades may firmly believe in the solidarity and support of the Soviet people."

The Soviet chief delegate went on: "This congress of the C.P.V., one of the glorious fighting detachments of the international communist movement, is a great event not only for the Vietnamese communists. Your experiences, your achievements and your problems and, of course, the answers to these problems, are very useful to the other fraternal parties. The creative activities of each Marxist-Leninist party contribute to the moral enrichment of the whole international communist movement."

"The recapitulating report of the Central Committee of the C.P.V. presented by Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the CC of the party, has left us very deep impressions. This important political document has analyzed the internal and external situation of the building of socialism in Vietnam, set forth great tasks, mapped out orientations and measures to resolve them. The report of the C.P.V. Central Committee as well as those presented by Comrades Pham Van Dong and Le Duc Tho sketched a panorama both of today and tomorrow, the pretty future of the country to which the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the party are marching and which they are sure to reach."

"The period which has elapsed since the Fourth Congress of the C.P.V. is not a simple one. On the one hand, there are the heavy wounds left by a protracted war against the imperialist and colonialist aggressors; then came a new aggression. On the other hand, there are very new problems to be solved.

However, in spite of all difficulties, the C.P.V. has managed to consolidate the independence of its country, it has got valuable experiences in the building of socialism in peace time, made persistent efforts to grasp a very complicated science, that of running the economy according to the socialist mode, developed and consolidated its relations with the labouring masses. This is a new precious asset in the activities of the C.P.V., a firm springboard for continued advance in the building of socialism.

"The C.P.V., its leaders, Comrade Le Duan, its general secretary, whom all of us regard as an outstanding Vietnamese revolutionary, a celebrated activist of the world communist movement, enjoy a very high prestige.

"The heroic struggle they have waged for the freedom, independence and unity of the country has shown that the Vietnamese communists are fully capable of conducting a life-and-death fight against the enemy to defend their motherland. And now you are giving evidence of your capabilities of bringing into play the creative forces of the entire people, developing socialist democracy, and heightening the national economy. We firmly believe that the resolutions of this fifth congress will help enhance the influence of the party and consolidate its leading role. The programme of striving on for socialism, a better life of the people, that you have set forth has expressed the aspirations of the Vietnamese people. Therefore, it will become a programme of the entire people."

The Soviet chief delegate added: "Your cause is extremely close to the heart of every Soviet citizen. In a recent speech delivered in Tashkent, Comrade Brezhnev stated: 'In these very days, the C.P.V. is advancing its fifth congress, and all of us extend to the heroic Vietnamese communists and the valiant Vietnamese people our cordial greetings and sincere wishes for success in their peaceful labour to build socialism and in the defence of their revolutionary gains.'

"We are agreed because of common objectives and very sincere concern for each other's achievements. The relations between the Soviet Union and Vietnam are built on the firmest and most honest principles that have been proved by history--the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The solid foundation of these relations is the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed in 1978, while the force crystallising them is precisely the unshakable fraternal friendship between our two communist parties.

"In the meetings between Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and Comrade Le Duan, the two sides noted with satisfaction that the Soviet-Vietnamese relations have been developing in a dynamic way with regard to both the volume and the quality of the tasks resolved. The Soviet Union and Vietnam are actively and steadily cooperating with each other in all political, economic, ideological and defence fields.

"A symbol of fraternal ties, the high standard of the cooperation between our two countries is the cosmic flight of the Soviet-Vietnamese international team. The hero-cosmonauts Victor Gorbatko and Pham Tuan carried aloft over the earth our banner of friendship.

"We are fully founded to hope that in the years to come, the Soviet-Vietnamese relations will develop in a more varied and vigorous manner. The party bodies and economic services of the Soviet Union and Vietnam have undertaken a very great volume of work to develop further our economic cooperation on the basis of the actual possibilities of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Suffice it to say that the turnover of goods between the two countries will double in the next five years.

"The technical and economic aid of the Soviet Union to Vietnam will also expand greatly. This will make it possible for the Vietnamese people to exploit the natural resources of the country more rapidly and more effectively, to turn to account in a more rational way the production potential already built, and it must be said that this is a fairly great potential.

"A symbol of the present cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in the resolution of such problems as those of fuel and energy is the Pha Lai thermic power plant whose first power-generating group will be put into operation this year. It is the reconstruction and expansion of the four biggest coal mines of Vietnam. The completion of these projects will create conditions for stable and steady activities of many industrial and agricultural enterprises. Moreover, we are jointly resolving longer-term tasks. On the Da River, the Hoa Binh hydroelectric plant, the biggest one in Southeast Asia, is being actively built.

"On the continental shelf of South Vietnam, we are making preparations for the exploitation of oil and gas. Before long, derricks will appear off the Vietnamese shores, and this is another concrete evidence of the strength and effectiveness of the Soviet-Vietnamese friendship."

Dealing with the international situation, the Soviet chief delegate remarked: "....U.S. imperialism is playing the role of organizer of the new crusade against peace and progress. The aggressive and militant forces are threatening to bring mankind to the brink of a world thermonuclear war. The ideologists of the U.S. reactionary forces are calling for an extension of the U.S. domination to the whole world. In fact there is no region on earth where the situation has not become complicated as a result of the actions of Washington and its zealous agents....

"In Asia the U.S. imperialists are frenziedly deploying extremely dangerous activities.

"First of all, Washington is playing 'the China card' in an attempt to make the most of the anti-Sovietism and hegemonism of the Chinese ruling circles to further the global strategy of the United States. Having forgotten the lessons of World War Two, the United States is carrying out a line designed to encourage Japanese militarism into an instrument of its expansionist policy in Asia.

"All this is real, undeniable. In spite of these facts, the imperialist circles are resorting to the most cunning methods to spread misinformation, lies and slanders; they try to deceive the peoples, mislead public opinion and make believe that international tension is caused by socialism.... The imperialists who pose as defenders of human rights did not say anything when Pol Pot, a disciple of the Maoists, brazenly massacred hundreds of thousands of his compatriots. And now when the Kampuchean people with the assistance of fraternal Vietnam have revived and are building a peaceful life, they stage-manage the adoption of slanderous resolutions of all kinds while preparing an armed intervention with the participation of traitors to the Kampuchean people, including Pol Pot. Beijing and Washington are inflating the so-called 'Kampuchean problem' which does not exist in fact; this problem has been settled for a long time now by the Kampuchean people themselves. They are pursuing long-term perfidious objectives to create a permanent hotbed of tension in Southeast Asia, to fan up a conflict between two groups of states in this region--the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN countries. That is indeed a shameful policy!

"Nobody can check the development of history, and that is precisely the reason why this is an objective process. This process expresses the will of the nations for peace and progress. A typical example of this is the victory of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the colonialist rule, and against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and the victory they have won in the two wars started by the Beijing hegemonists against Vietnam in recent years. At first they pushed the stooge Pol Pot clique to fight against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, then they directly staged an aggression against Vietnam.

"We appreciate the lofty activities of Vietnam to consolidate the solid fraternal ties with socialist Laos and with Kampuchea, who has stated that the path of socialist development is her goal. The solidarity of the three countries on the Indochinese Peninsula is an important factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, dear comrades. Progressive public opinion in the world supports your just cause; the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries always stand at your side.

"The increasing role of Vietnam in the international community, in the Non-Aligned Movement, her clear-cut stand in the maintenance of peace and the defence of the right of all nations to follow the path of independent development, all this is a factor of increasingly important significance for the consolidation of security in Asia and all over the world. And we are very pleased to note that in the international area as well as in the resolving of the tasks of peaceful construction, we have always been standing shoulder to shoulder.

"Comrades: This is not the first time the communists have to riposte to the plots of the class enemy who wants to overthrow or at least to encroach on world socialism, and to check the revolutionary process. But if they failed to achieve this in the past, they are all the more unable to do so now because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries already have a great economic potential, a mighty political force and a solid national defence; in the world, the forces of the communist movement, the workers' movement and the national liberation movement have grown powerful; the aspirations of all nations for peace have become stronger than ever.



"The CPSU and the Soviet Government resolutely pursue the line charted by the 26th congress of the party, unswervingly strive to carry into effect the peace programme for the eighties adopted by the congress. All the proposals and initiatives put forward some days ago by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 17th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions in Tashkent have supplied new and very firm evidence of this. As you know, these proposals and initiatives aim at solving the problem of reducing nuclear means in Europe on the basis of strict compliance with the principle of equality, at securing a resumption of the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms limitation expanding mutual trust measures on the seas and oceans, building a region of peace and stability in Asia, reaching agreement on other essential problems regarding the prevention of a new world war.

"The Soviet initiatives have received a broad response in the world. The socialist countries have spared no effort to make the international climate healthy. This has been evidenced by the actions and initiatives of the Soviet Union on the initiating and applying of mutual trust measures in the Far East; the proposal of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability, on the normalization of relations with the ASEAN countries; the proposal made by the People's Republic of Mongolia on the signing of a convention of nonaggression and nonuse of force in the relations between Asian and Pacific countries.

"We fully support Vietnam's stand on resolving the situation in Southeast Asia expounded in the activity report of the Central Committee of the C.P.V. We stand for extinguishing hotbeds of conflict, resolving disputes through negotiations, and it is very good that this policy of the socialist countries in Asia has enjoyed the approval of authoritative circles in many Asian countries.

"The Soviet Union highly appreciates the independent and progressive foreign policies of India and other peace-loving countries in Asia.

"In the present situation, the solidarity of communist and workers' parties has a particularly important significance. Our movement came into existence under the slogan of proletarian internationalism. There lies the great strength of the movement. And practical experience has shown that those parties that depart from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to pursue some transient political objectives are bound to encounter ultimately great difficulties and to become scapegoats of the class enemy. Solidarity is the main condition for gaining new successes for socialism and peace."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, of the entire Soviet party and people, the Soviet chief delegate wished the communists and the entire people of Vietnam "new, great successes in the building of socialism, the path to which has been charted by the Fifth Congress of the C.P.V."

Lao Delegate Kaysone

BK090807 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0430 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Speech by Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee, delivered at the Fifth VCP Congress in Hanoi on 28 March--read by announcer]

[Text] Respected Comrade Le Duan, respected comrades in the congress Presidium, beloved comrades:

The LPRP delegation deems it a great honor and is extremely glad to attend the fifth congress of the majestic and noble VCP. With fraternal and intimate love and with the pure, comradely friendship which have bonded our two parties and peoples in revolutionary struggles to score glorious victories, we would like to extend the warm salutations and best wishes of the Lao communists and people to the congress and the heroic Vietnamese communists and people.

Amid an atmosphere of special joy and elation, we miss Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding fighter of the international communist and workers movement who rendered great services by bringing the light of Marxism-Leninism to the struggle for national salvation of the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and founded the Indochinese Communist Party--the predecessor of the present LPRP.

Beloved comrades, after listening to the political report of the VCP Central Committee--with its profound and clear-cut contents regarding the socialist construction and safe-guarding of Vietnam--we are of the view that since the fourth party congress, under the talented and clear-sighted leadership of the VCP headed by beloved and respected Comrade Le Duan, the Vietnamese people have written another splendid chapter in their glorious national history and won ever greater confidence, love and admiration from brothers and friends in the world.

Just emerging from the fierce and long wars against colonialists and neo-colonialists, with wounds that have not yet healed, the Vietnamese people had to wage a new fight against aggression by the Chinese big-nation expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. With their glorious exploits in defeating the two aggressive wars launched by the Beijing reactionary clique and its Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackey, the Vietnamese people have not only firmly defended their fatherland, they have helped the fraternal Kampuchean people free themselves from a genocidal disaster, restore their country and build a new life, and contain the plots of expansion, aggression and annexation by the reactionary circles in the Beijing leadership, thus making a very important contribution to the struggle for peace and stability in this region and in the world.

With a struggle filled with great sacrifices, the VCP has resolutely protected the purity of Marxism-Leninism, exposed the true nature of Maoism and unmasked the great traitors of the Chinese people and the world revolutionary movement. At the same time, with a tradition of hard work and endurance and with a sense of creative and industrious labor, the Vietnamese people have scored

numerous achievements in building their economy and developing their culture, thus strengthening the potentials of their country in all fields and drawing numerous excellent experiences in advancing directly toward socialism as a former colony with a backward economy.

All of these historic victories scored by the Vietnamese people--which are of epochal significance--have testified to the fact that the VCP is a staunch and experienced contingent of the internationalist and workers movement, and that the Vietnamese people are very heroic and absolutely loyal to the party and the fatherland and have sacrificed and stand ready to make more sacrifices for independence, freedom and socialism and for fulfilling their internationalist obligations. The LPRP and the Lao people wholeheartedly hail the victory of the VCP and the fraternal Vietnamese people and consider it as their own.

Beloved comrades, in the past 6 years, directly confronting the Chinese big-nation expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, the Lao people--under the correct and resolute leadership of the LPRP--have gradually smashed the enemy's acts and schemes of opposing and sabotaging our country with the aim of swallowing it up. In this way we have restored a normal situation in the country and consolidated the people's administrative power with every passing day. We have scored significant successes in rice production and collecting agricultural taxes, thus basically managing to meet the people's food requirements. Illiteracy has been largely stamped out among the people of all tribes. The cultural standard of the people and cadres has been gradually raised.

In the foreign affairs sector, we have stepped up efforts to strengthen our solidarity and all-round cooperation with Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and have attentively made contributions to the struggles for revolution and peace in this region and in the world. These all-round great efforts have served to strengthen further and stabilize the posture and strength of the Lao revolution and to raise further the position and influence of the LPDR in the international arena.

Comrades, in the new period of the revolution, the special relationship between Laos and Vietnam--which is the invaluable bequest left behind by President Ho Chi Minh for the two parties and countries--has further flourished with a new quality and can be broken by no reactionary forces.

The implementation of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the LPDR and the SRV has achieved fine results as is shown in the building of the Laos-Vietnam border into a permanent border of friendship and peace, in diversified activities in the political, economic, cultural and technical fields and in the relations of brotherhood between border provinces of the two countries. These results have constantly strengthened the forces of the countries in all fields, firmly ensured the independence and the prosperous development of each country and, at the same time, constituted an important factor for preserving peace and stability in this region.

We are very elated to see that even though encountering numerous difficulties and shouldering heavy burdens of international obligations, the Vietnamese party, government and people have tried in all respects to render great and

timely assistance in various fields to the Lao people in defending and building the young LPDR. The beloved children of the Vietnamese people, continuing to enhance the pure spirit of internationalist proletariat, have shared weal and woe and stood shoulder to shoulder with the Lao cadres, combatants and people in the new period of the revolution, thus further increasing the special relationship between Laos and Vietnam.

On this majestic and grand podium, once again on behalf of the Lao party, government and people, I would like to express our profound and sincere gratitude to the fraternal Vietnamese party, government and people for their invaluable assistance and deep affection shown to us. I wholeheartedly hail and profoundly thank all Vietnamese specialists, volunteer forces and economic counselors for using wisdom and labor, as well as sacrificing blood and lives to fulfill the Lao revolution.

Particularly, I want to thank the Vietnamese parents and wives who have endured the agony of waiting for their children and husbands who are fulfilling their internationalist obligations in our fatherland. On this occasion, I would like to express our profound sympathy and sincere thanks to you. The great virtue and immense sacrifices of the Vietnamese people in the Lao revolution will be engraved in the history of Laos and the memory of the Lao people forever.

Fully conscious that the special Laos-Vietnam solidarity, the militant alliance and all-round cooperation constitute a law of existence and development of the two countries, our party has always paid attention to educating party cadres, members and people of all tribes to do their best to safeguard the Laos-Vietnam solidarity and resolutely oppose all wicked divisive schemes of the enemies. Our party has instructed our young generations in cultivating this special relationship so as to make it bear more fruits and last forever.

We are proud that in all crucial and fierce trials in the past as well as at present, we have always stood side by side with Vietnam and have done our best to contribute to the victories of our beloved brothers and comrades. In the future, we will continuously expand our close coordination with the Vietnamese comrades and increase our mutual support in all fields in order to bring into full play the potentials of each country for the successful defense and building of socialism in each country.

Comrades, at present, the reality in the world shows that the three revolutionary currents and peace movements are growing unprecedentedly stronger and larger. In the meantime, the imperialists--led by the U.S. imperialists--are in a weak position and are suffering severe crises. Their conflicts are becoming fiercer with every passing day. Hoping to extricate themselves from such a deadlock, the Reagan administration has stepped up the arms race, created a danger of a nuclear war and threatened the security of the world community, thus aggravating the situation in the world. Faced with this situation, the revolutionary and peace forces must further heighten their vigilance and strengthen the solidarity among their ranks in opposing the adventurous and warmongering policy of the imperialists and reactionary forces.

We highly value the new proposal made by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet

Presidium of the Soviet Union, in his speech delivered at the 17th congress of the Soviet trade unions. This proposal is the continuation of the implementation of the infamous peace policy adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is the most important factor in the evolution of peace and international detente.

We solemnly condemn all acts of sabotage, provocation, intrusion and threat of aggression by the reactionary clique in the Beijing ruling circles against the SRV, and demand that they cease their hostile policy toward the three Indochinese countries. We are ready to do everything possible to preserve our relations of friendship with the Chinese people and to establish normal relations between the LPDR and the PRC for the interests of the peoples in the two countries.

The Lao people wholeheartedly hail the great victory of the fraternal Kampuchean people in the struggle to defend and build the PRK under the correct leadership of the KPRP led by General Secretary Comrade Heng Samrin. This victory has restored the traditional solidarity between the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples in the struggle against their common enemies for the earnest interests of the peoples in the three countries. All acts of assistance to the Khmer reactionaries, which are aimed at opposing and sabotaging the Kampuchean revolution, serve not only the dark scheme of the Beijing clique, but will bring disaster to their own countries as well.

We deem it necessary to promote a dialogue between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN countries with the aim of creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust in order to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in conformity with the aspirations of the peoples in this region.

We completely support the drastic measures taken by the Polish party and state to extricate the country from the serious crisis created by the imperialists and reactionaries, aiming at safeguarding and preserving securely the socialist fruits of the Polish people.

We completely support the just struggles of the peoples in the countries in Central America, (?the Caribbean), the Middle East and other regions in the world against the intervention, threats, aggression and sabotage by the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. We firmly believe that these struggles will win victories.

Adhering to our consistent foreign policy, we will continuously increase the special relationship with Vietnam and Kampuchea, strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, promote our solidarity with all peace and progressive forces, and do everything within our power to contribute to the common struggle of the peoples in the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Lao party, government and people, I would like to express our profound gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries and all friends throughout the world for their assistance and support to our Lao people.

Beloved comrades, in the past several decades of our revolutionary struggle, we are very proud to have the heroic VCP and the Vietnamese people by our side to encourage and help us. The experiences drawn by you, comrades, in the defense and construction of your socialist country are also excellent lessons for us. We are firmly convinced that the resolution adopted by this congress will further encourage the Vietnamese people to march forward to score even greater achievements in building their beloved country into a rich and strong entity.

I wish the congress a glorious success.

Long live the great friendship, special relationship and all-round cooperation between the two countries--Laos and Vietnam!

Long live the majestic and honorable VCP!

Long live the invincible Marxism-Leninism!

May the great President Ho Chi Minh remain in the revolutionary struggles and special relationship between our two parties and peoples forever!

Thank you.

Kampuchean Delegate Heng Samrin

BK291228 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0400 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Speech by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, on 28 March--read by announcer]

[Text] The KPRP delegation is very elated and proud to join the glorious VCP, the working class and the heroic people of Vietnam in participating in this historically significant event. We have brought here the profound sentiments of a nation which has just been freed from the disaster of genocide, the deep loyalty of a contingent of cadres succeeding the lofty cause of the Indo-chinese Communist Party, and the wish of the whole party and people of Kampuchea for the brilliant success of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Esteemed and beloved comrades, right from its birth, under the guidance of beloved Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (President Ho Chi Minh), the Indochinese Communist Party the predecessor of the three parties of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete condition of the three countries, charted out an accurate revolutionary programme for the people's democratic national revolution of the three Indochinese countries. Since then, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have over half a century traveled a path full of difficulties, hardships and trials, and have written the most glorious pages of their nation's history....The defeat of two big imperialists, including the ringleader of imperialism, constituted an immortal song of the heroic Vietnamese people who have opened a new era following the great victory in Vietnam, that is, an era full of hope that within only 7 years has brought changes to the world situation. Vietnam's victory is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, of the line of holding aloft the two banners--the banner of national democratic revolution and the banner of socialism--of the strategic alliance of the three Indochinese peoples, and of the fraternal socialist countries, the

communist-worker movement for national liberation and all the peace and progressive forces throughout the world. The VCP is worthy of being the vanguard of the working class, the revolution and working people of Vietnam and of being one of the most valiant vanguards of the international communist movement. The Kampuchean party and people are elated and proud of this.

Your party congress this time is held after your victories over the two wars of aggression launched by the reactionary Chinese clique in collusion with U.S. imperialism, and at a moment when the three Indochinese countries are living in a state of peace while having to cope with a many-sided sabotage war conducted by the common enemies and with the danger of a large-scale war. That is why the task of the congress is very great, complicated and heavy.

We are deeply convinced that under the clear-sighted leadership of a party which has been steeled in the flame of struggle like the Communist Party of Vietnam, with the correct line for socialist revolution charted out by the fourth congress and with the programme of action to be adopted by this congress, with the tradition of staunch and undaunted struggle, and with their industrious and creative labour, the heroic Vietnamese people will surmount all difficulties, overcome all obstacles, march forward to thwart all plots and acts of war by the enemies, and advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily on the path of socialist construction.

Esteemed and beloved comrades, for many generations, our people have been well aware of the revolutionary stages of the three Indochinese countries. Many fraternal Vietnamese people sacrificed their lives in a protracted, most difficult struggle, unprecedented in the history of the world. However, they have achieved brilliant victories.

"After long years of sorrow and darkness under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, especially under the genocidal disaster caused by (?Maoism) all the Kampuchean patriots including those who had lived in the old regime and were indoctrinated with extremist nationalism are well aware of who are friends and who are enemies, particularly those who have many times fought to liberate their nation from genocide and are now creating conditions to ensure the people's right to live in independence and freedom.

Over the past 3 years, in the coordinated struggle against the common enemies as well as in the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, there have also emerged numerous noble symbols of the friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam and the profound sentiments between the peoples of the two countries. However, no words can be used to match the indescribable sacrifice of many Vietnamese mothers who sent their beloved children to fight side by side with our people. No words can be used to describe the march of the communist combatants of the two countries who traveled through streams, creeks, mountains and forests in order to seize victory over their common enemy, seize back the right to live in independence and freedom for the two nations and to build the special friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam. At present, in the western border of our country, the beloved sons of our two nations are fighting side by side in the same trench. In factories, worksites and many outlying remote villages and communes, workers and peoples of the two countries are striving side by side by revive a devastated nation. The sweat and blood of the peoples of

the two countries have further been shed for the Kampuchea-Vietnam friendship. Our people are well aware that while helping the Kampuchean people, the Vietnamese people are also carrying out their internationalist duty toward the brotherly Lao people, defending their northern border, overcoming the aftermath of war and enduring much suffering. Yet, in the common struggle the Vietnamese people have always accepted for themselves the greatest difficulties.

Time passes, but those lofty symbols will never fade in human memory. For our whole party and people, the word "Vietnam" is very sacred. Vietnam means revolutionary heroism, Vietnam is synonymous with proletarian internationalism, Vietnam means purity of soul, loyalty in friendship, unity and noble sacrifice. Vietnam's contribution will forever be embedded in the heart of each Kampuchean patriot in the present and future generations as well.

As stated in the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea "...Solidarity and all-round cooperation with Vietnam and Laos is the party's strategic thought, the subjective demand of historical necessity, a determinant factor for Kampuchea's destiny, the pure revolutionary sentiments and the consistent stand of the Kampuchean people in the new epoch....

The whole party and people of Kampuchea pledge to preserve their close solidarity, friendship and all-round cooperation with the fraternal Vietnamese people as the apple of their eye, and are always heightening their vigilance so as to shatter all designs aimed at sowing division among the three Indochinese countries, causing division between Kampuchea and Vietnam, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Esteemed and beloved comrades, "The past 3 years have also seen the wonderful victory of our people in their reconstruction and in defence of their reborn nation. From being a society in which all forms of social life had been abolished, where the people were denied the right to live and lived under the constant fear of being mowed down by hoes, cutlasses, mallets and guns, in a society of barrack-type discipline, Kampuchea has been revived with schools, kindergartens, hospitals, markets and pagodas having been reopened. Songs of love for life, love for the new regime, hatred of the enemy, songs of praise for the loyal friends have risen everywhere, from the ricefields to the remote mountainous areas.

"In the past year, many great events have occurred in the political, economic and social life of our people. Elections of local power and the National Assembly, the fourth party congress, the adoption of the new Constitution and the setting up of the national government, the emergence of comprehensive emulation drives have proved that our people earnestly desire to live in peace and construction, are firmly confident in the people's revolutionary party, closely attached to the new government, a government really for the people, rejoice at the alliance of the three Indochinese countries, and believe in the great family of the socialist community. Our entire party and people are well aware that the victories of the Kampuchean revolution cannot be separated from the generous, unswerving assistance and great sacrifices in flesh and blood of the fraternal Vietnamese people, and that these victories are linked to the



historic victories of the revolutionary lines of the three Indochinese countries. These victories are attributable to the great development of the world revolution. We are convinced that in the near future, the revolutionary currents of the countries in this subcontinent will combine into a great torrent to wash away the reactionary dirt and to drown the acts of war of the Beijing hegemonist-expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists.

"On this occasion, allow me, on behalf of the whole party, and people of Kampuchea, to express our deep gratitude to the parties and peoples of Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and the other genuine socialist countries and friendly countries throughout the world for their sympathy, support and great assistance."

Esteemed and beloved comrades, the entire party and people of Kampuchea are currently striving to implement the general tasks set forth at the Fourth KPRP Congress in order to defend firmly national independence and build the fatherland in a gradual advance through a transitional period toward socialism. Our most sacred task is the defense of our fatherland. The outstanding victories scored in the past have made us confident of the bright future of the cause of the revolution of the Kampuchean people, the peoples in the three Indochinese countries and the communist and workers' movement in the world.

Cuban Delegate Oropesa

OW281651 Hanoi VNA in English 1632 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--At this congress, the Communist Party of Vietnam brilliantly affirms the just and glorious path it has followed over more than half a century since the party was founded.

This view of the Communist Party of Cuba was voiced by its chief delegate Jesus Montane Oropesa at today's session of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. He went on:

This is a congress which highlights the unshakable loyalty of the Communist Party of Vietnam to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is a congress which demonstrates the party's determination to work toward the tasks of economic development, toward selfless service to the interests of the people, towards staunchly defending the socialist fatherland.

All of us who have the honour to attend this congress with Vietnamese communists will return to our country with much greater confidence that the Vietnamese cause is invincible, that with the clearheaded leadership of their vanguard party, the resolute support of the whole people, the unshakable revolutionary alliance with the brotherly Indochinese countries of Kampuchea and Laos together with the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic countries and forces in the world, nothing and nobody can alter the path that the heroic Vietnamese people have chosen. In the past, the colonialists and militarists could not achieve that. Yesterday the U.S. imperialists, with all their might, could do nothing. Today, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists surely cannot subjugate Vietnam.

Dear comrades, here in your midst we can witness clearly what a revolutionary and fighting nation is like. Here we can feel what a politically conscious, one-minded and organized people is like, a people that knows the value of freedom that has had to struggle very arduously through many generations to regain its independence and unification. Here in your midst one can understand fully how extraordinary the work, the teachings, the thoughts, the example and the everlasting behest of immortal President Ho Chi Minh can be.

...In your struggle, we have always been on your side, our solidarity is steadfast and unshakable. Particularly we wish to express our support for the proposals put forth by the Governments of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos aimed at accelerating the search for a negotiated solution on the basis of reason and honour for the regional conflicts and through which to help create an atmosphere of peace and cooperation in the region.

Concerning the Cuban situation, Jesus Montane Oropesa said: "Cuba is striving for peace. Cuba does not want war at all. Cuba supports all sincere and constructive initiatives leading to negotiated solutions to conflicts. Yet, Cuba has clearly told the United States that Cuba will never be frightened by piratic activities and threats and momentums. We would rather sacrifice than relinquish the truth, morality and revolutionary nature. We Cubans, as you Vietnamese, are thoroughly imbued with 'There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom.' Dear Vietnamese brothers, today is struggle, tomorrow is ours," he concluded.

French Delegate Laurent

OW281705 Hanoi VNA in English 1650 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--"It is with very great emotion that I address you, on behalf of the French Communist Party whose ties with the Communist Party of Vietnam dates back to the dawn of the French communist movement."

In his speech at today's session of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Hanoi, Paul Laurent, Political Bureau member and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee, said: "Who does not remember that in 1920, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was among the revolutionaries who were going to build the new party of the French working class, at the Tours Congress in 1920. Since then, the solidarity of the French communists has never failed the cause of the gallant Vietnamese people who, during diverse trials in their history, has always shown courage, heroism and perseverance. After long and bitter years of struggle, first against French colonialism, then against American imperialism, you have conquered the sovereign right for your people to be master of its future. In the conscience of peoples of the whole world, vivid memories still remain of the savage bombings which caused injuries to Vietnam, ravaged and devastated your land, sowing death and sorrows. Several generations of Vietnamese have thus paid with their blood the price of freedom and independence.

At present, the sequels of this war, which resulted in the partition of Vietnam for over 2 decades, still leave their marks on all the economic, social

and political realities of your country. Could it be otherwise in a country which has only recently emerged from this long nightmare?

In this context, the course of action taken by the people and Communist Party of Vietnam is even more prominent. With the same will that prompted you in your fight against the colonialists and imperialists, you are building a new society for Vietnam, reunified at last. With great attention and very keen interest, the French communists are following the work being done here, in your country. We are aware of the complexity of the task you are fulfilling.

The terrible legacy of past years still continues to cast a heavy shadow on the future of your country. And there are many things to be invented to the peoples regarding the building of socialism! But the French communists, who know their Vietnamese comrades well, have full confidence in your capacity to overcome difficulties and to forge the socialism that the people of Vietnam want to have. We French communists are also conscious of the importance and the state, for this part of the world, represented by the building of a strong, independent socialist country, having at its disposal the means to guarantee its security, capable of playing its role in favour of peace and nonalignment.

For all those reasons, added to the very long-standing friendship and militant comradeship between French and Vietnamese communists, we entertain deep feelings of solidarity for the struggle you are now conducting to develop socialism in your country."

After describing the situation in France, the French chief delegate added: "The historical ties of friendship between the Vietnamese and French peoples are profound and close. It would be a waste not to apply oneself to developing them incessantly. We French communists are striving to develop a great policy of cooperation between France and Vietnam which meets the needs of Vietnam, and conforms to the capacity of France and to the interests of the two peoples and their two countries.

"Within the framework of the new international order which it will henceforth advance, France can and must contribute to the development of Vietnam. They must do everything so that Vietnam can live in peace, playing its role legitimately in the world. An independent, peaceful, rich, happy Vietnam--isn't it the interest of France in Southeast Asia? France and Vietnam have every interest in developing their relations.

"Our two peoples and our two countries have an interest for having these relations developed, and this is what every French Communist really wishes for."

Polish Delegate Milewski

OW281656 Hanoi VNA in English 1641 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--We wish to thank you for the great sympathy expressed to Poland in this conference hall by the delegates to the congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Speaking at today's session of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Hanoi, Mirosław Milewski, Political Bureau member and secretary of the United Workers Party of Poland Central Committee, said:

"The report presented in this hall by the general secretary of your party, Comrade Le Duan, the faithful continuator of the work of Ho Chi Minh, an outstanding militant of the international communist and workers' movement, has mapped out the programme and tasks that await your party and nation. We wish you success in the implementation thereof. We are confident that your party which has splendid traditions of heroism and sacrifice will be able to answer the historic challenge it has taken up."

The Polish chief delegate went on: "I have come to your country at a difficult time for ours. To defend the highest values of internal peace and of socialism and the fundamental interests of peace and security in Europe and in the world, it turned out to be indispensable to apply exceptional measures. That was our decision, a Polish one.

"Time has confirmed the soundness of the measure adopted. In our country, stabilization is progressing, social discipline has been increased, order and calm prevail. However, the political struggle is still on. Be assured, dear comrades and friends, that we will do everything so that socialist Poland will continue to make her sensible contribution to the consolidation of the community of socialist countries for the sake of peace and international cooperation. Poland was and will remain a lasting link of the socialist community."

Mirosław Milewski added: "Poland and Vietnam have been united for long years by a close friendship and cooperation. Our destinies were similar in the past. Our two nations had to fight for the freedom and unity of their motherlands. We were with you in the most difficult hours, those of your liberation struggle. To the extent of her possibilities, Poland was active in the international arena in favour of the reunification of Vietnam. Now we are developing a cooperation advantageous for the two countries in all fields of life. As in the past, we are now extending our full support to the policy and initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in defence of her sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; for the strengthening of the friendly ties among the Indochinese states, for the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

"We wish Socialist Vietnam, all our Vietnamese friends favourable achievement of our common ideals. We express the deep conviction that the programme set forth by the Communist Party of Vietnam will be fulfilled and that fraternal socialist Vietnam will score new successes in all fields of peaceful cooperation."

PLO Delegate Samih Abu Kuwayq

OW281717 Hanoi VNA in English 1702 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--We are convinced that your congress will find out correct solutions to thwart the schemes of aggression and solve the economic problems.

Addressing the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam today, Samih Abu Kuwayq, head of the P.L.O. delegation, said: "Your congress is held when the imperialists and reactionaries' attempts at aggression against Vietnam are increasing, at a time when difficult economic conditions are challenging the will of the Vietnamese people. We are convinced that your congress will find out correct solutions to thwart the schemes of aggression and solve the economic problems....

"We declare that we resolutely condemn the U.S. policy and their activities to undermine international peace and security, to oppose security and liberation of the struggling peoples, thereby opposing our Palestinian people, our Arab people in the Middle East, and peoples in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"The Vietnamese revolutionary evolution and that of Palestine have reaffirmed that the closeness making us come nearer to each other is a special one, the closeness that has emerged from the armed struggle against occupation, the closeness of similar sorrows and disasters caused by imperialists to our peoples. It is abundantly clear that the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people has placed us in the forefront trench to fight imperialism and Zionism. The closeness of the Vietnamese and Palestinian revolutions was prominently stated in the Vietnam-Palestine joint statement at the conclusion of the visit to Vietnam last October by Y. 'Arafat. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has reaffirmed its resolute and consistent support to the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization to liberate the fatherland. Palestine has, on its part, warmly appreciated the historic victory won by the heroic Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam--the party founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh through the struggle against colonialism and imperialism to reunify Vietnam and take the whole country to socialism.

"The Palestine Liberation Organization reaffirms its full support to the Vietnamese people in their new revolutionary stage under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam to build socialism and defend Socialist Vietnam, against all aggressive designs of imperialists and reactionary forces.

"Today at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we reaffirm the firm revolutionary stand of the Palestinian revolution toward Vietnam and the glorious struggle of the Vietnamese people."

Salvadoran Delegate Carpio

OW281729 Hanoi VNA in English 1709 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--We would like to extend to you the sincere and warm greetings of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.) of the El Salvador and wish the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam brilliant success.

Speaking at today's session of the Vietnam party congress in Hanoi, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, member of the F.M.L.N. Supreme Command, first commander of the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces, said: "The Salvadoran people deeply admire the heroic and courageous Vietnamese people, who have fought against the domination by imperialism and indigenous reactionary forces, won complete freedom, and are now taking the Vietnamese society forward in the correct direction of independence, national unity and socialism. It is the very staunch will to cope with, to fight against, and to defeat imperialism and other international reactionary forces that is now expressed right here at this fifth party congress and right in each Vietnamese communist. We hold that this is not only a congress of the communists but of the entire Vietnamese people--the whole nation, who have joined the party in the fight to sweep away the imperialist aggressors and reunify the country.

"With their victory over the barbarous enemy of nations, the Vietnamese people have set for the world's people an excellent example of heroism, undauntedness and courage and have proven that no force can subdue a nation which is determined to stand up to fight at any cost for their liberation.

"We realize that today in face of tasks and duties to be fulfilled and new difficulties to be surmounted and new enemies to be foiled in defence of the fatherland and socialism, the intelligence and talent of the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam which have been demonstrated in the fight against colonialism and imperialism will be again brought into play to bring about continued victories.

"Vietnam is of great significance toward nations such as our Salvadoran people, who are struggling against oppression, domination by the domestic reactionary forces and imperialism. In the struggle for freedom and national sovereignty we stand on the side of the Vietnamese people. That's why we protest against and condemn all invasions under whatever pretext against Vietnam. Like before, today and for ever we will side with Vietnam, the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese people."

He concluded his speech by saying: "We firmly believe that your party and people will turn the resolutions of the fifth congress into effect and will make ever greater achievements in socialist construction and in the defence of your socialist fatherland. To our Salvadoran people, the immortal Vietnamese people and President Ho Chi Minh are a boundless revolutionary inspiration."

African National Congress Delegate Mabizela

OW281734 Hanoi VNA in English 1717 GMT 28 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 28--"It is a great and singular honour for me to represent the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa at this esteemed congress" declared Stanley Mabizela, head of the delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa at today's session of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. He went on: "I bring warm greetings of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Communist Party of Vietnam, and to you, the delegates of this important congress of your party. This is party of President Ho Chi Minh, a man, a hero, a legend in his lifetime who successfully waged and inspired not only the epic struggle that gave the Vietnam people their freedom but a man who continues to inspire at present similar struggles and therefore is today revered the world over. Comrades, through you, we greet the heroic and unconquerable people of Vietnam."

The A.N.C. chief delegate continued: "In our life and death struggle against a ruthless and powerful adversary we draw tremendous inspiration from Vietnam's heroic history of struggle against various aggressors whose aim was to enslave you people. The fact that you were able to defeat the most powerful imperialist power in the world, the United States of America, has been an enormous moral booster to our people and to the combatants of our armed forces. Dear comrades, when we of the African National Congress look towards the example of your party and of your unconquerable people we are mindful of the great sacrifices you have made. We are also mindful of the principles of international solidarity you have shown for ours and other struggles. In this respect we pledge our solidarity to you as we have always done; we pledge our solidarity to you as you continue your noble tasks of repairing your war wounds and building socialism. We pledge our solidarity to you as you guard your borders to ensure that the gains of your revolution are safeguarded. In this respect we have forthrightly condemned the treacherous action of the Chinese leadership who attacked your country in a cowardly manner, and who seek to impose their hegemony over the whole of Indochina. We applaud the strong fraternal links of the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos who have kept the agents of imperialism at bay. We know very well the treachery of the Beijing renegades. For years they have been supporting renegade groups and puppets in Africa in their fruitless efforts to impose their reactionary line."

"We wish you well in this esteemed congress of your outstanding party and are confident that you will continue to lead the people of unconquerable Vietnam along the glorious path of peace, socialism and progress," Stanley Mabizela said.

## Various Countries' Delegates

OW310103 Hanoi VNA in English 1549 GMT 30 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 30--Foreign delegates who attended mass meetings held in Hanoi yesterday and today in honour of the Fifth VCP Congress all highly praised Vietnam's achievements in national defence and construction, and reaffirmed support for the people of this country.

Bulgarian Delegate Balev

Bulgarian head delegate Milko Balev said:

"The fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Vietnam, between the Bulgarian and Vietnamese peoples, is developing incessantly....Forged in the struggle for freedom and socialist construction and in the struggle for independence against the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese aggressors, the Bulgaria-Vietnam friendship has become stronger and has blossomed magnificently. The Vietnamese people have had and will always have the support of Bulgaria, and they can always depend on the Bulgarian people's assistance.

"In the spirit of great communist ideals and on the strength of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Vietnam, our two parties, governments and peoples have cooperated with each other in politics, economy and culture....

"You can be sure that what Comrade Todor Zhivkov said in Hanoi in 1979 during the visit of a Bulgarian party and state delegation led by him has the force of law for the communists and the entire people of Bulgaria. He said then: 'We, the fraternal socialist countries and progressive forces of the world will never leave socialist Vietnam in the lurch. Forever, in the struggle to defend the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as well as in socialist construction, we will side with you, beloved Vietnamese brothers and sisters.'"

Swedish Delegate Kvist

Kenneth Kvist (VPK) [Sweden's Communist Left Party] said:

"Vietnam has won a very special place in the hearts and minds of the Swedish people. Your long struggle against imperialism and your final victory was unprecedented in the history of mankind. So was the solidarity with your people, both in strength and breath. For many young people the struggle of Vietnam became awakening to political consciousness. In the same way that Spain had been for their parents, these people are called the 'Vietnam generation,' and they constitute a large segment of our party.

"Also today solidarity with Vietnam is very much alive in Sweden. The efforts of imperialist propaganda to destroy this solidarity have failed...the struggle of the solidarity movement, of the workers parties and the progressive



opinion in Sweden have made it possible for the assistance to continue in spite of the rightists trying to abolish it....

"Vietnam has won an outstanding position in the world [word indistinct] struggle for independence, peace, justice and social progress. Therefore, it is a primary duty for us communists to defend Vietnam's independence and peace and support your efforts to rebuild your country, develop its resources and improve your people's living conditions. Knowing how devastated the U.S. left Vietnam and what further damage your country and people have suffered from new military aggressions, U.S. economic warfare and natural calamities, we see your endeavours to solve difficulties with compassion and admiration. No country in the world takes so good care of its citizens with such small resources. In fact, much richer countries, which have enjoyed long peace have much more illiteracy, higher infant mortality....

"Dear comrades, your role in anti-imperialist struggle and for the anti-imperialist movement has been and is outstanding. You are now facing the problems of reconstruction and development. We are confident that your experienced party will find wise and effective solutions also to these problems. The Left Party Communists (V.P.K.) shall continue to support you with firm solidarity. We wish you great success."

Finnish Delegate Aalto

Arvo Aalto (Communist Party of Finland) said: "Finland and Vietnam are separated by a great distance. But this does not prevent us from following with sympathy all that has been done in your country in implementation of the decisions of your party's previous congress to repair war damage, to effect socialist changes in the south of your country, to integrate the north and the south, so different because of their social and economic development, although external factors of which you have no control, have seriously disturbed your work. You have shown by your work your capacity to surmount even big difficulties. The results obtained are encouraging, and they guarantee your nation's socialist future. We sincerely congratulate you on the results of your work which constitute an important contribution to the cause of world peace....

"It was thought at many places in the world that the Vietnamese people, at long last, would be able to build their country as they wished and in peaceful conditions. But it was not so. We say, with sadness and discouragement, that your country was victim of heinous aggressions, including an armed aggression--now by the Beijing leadership. Our party condemned the Chinese aggression as energetically as we had condemned the U.S. attempt to destroy your nation with its huge war machine. Our solidarity with your people is unshakable. We highly value the initiatives of Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries to ensure peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We have enclosed the important contribution to world peace in the form of the constructive proposals jointly made by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation."

#### Czechoslovakia Delegate Jakes

Milos Jakes (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) said: "We have every reason to take pride in the successes you have won in the first years of your post-war restoration and socialist construction in a unified Vietnam. Your successes would have been greater if you had not been subject to attacks by imperialism and international reaction. We most indignantly condemn the Chinese aggressors' criminal attacks against your sovereign territory. They intended to 'punish' Vietnam for its internationalist position and principled policy. We resolutely condemn the Beijing expansionists and the reactionary circles subservient to them for their plots and provocations against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

"We highly value your foreign policy of peace which has gained great prestige in Asia and the world as a whole. We highly value the selfless and fraternal internationalist assistance you have accorded to the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in their struggle for a better life. We note with satisfaction that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a steadfast component of the big family of the socialist community and an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia. We note with satisfaction that your party is a firm detachment of the communist and international workers' movement."

#### Indian Delegate Singh

Harkishan Subject Singh (CPI-M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] [said:] Our party has always considered the Vietnamese liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism as an integral and decisive part of the world struggle against imperialism for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. The ultimate great victory recorded by the Vietnamese people in their liberation struggle just before international labour day on May 1st, 1975, has greatly contributed to weakening imperialism on a world scale. Our party has always held that it is our international proletarian responsibility to support Vietnam, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and we have constantly striven to do our utmost in discharging this obligation.

"Much to our regret, soon after its final liberation, Vietnam had to face new difficulties caused by the hostile attitude of the People's Republic of China and the piratical acts of the reactionary Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea....

"Dear comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I wish to convey to you our congratulations on the big successes of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We wish you many new successes in building a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnam."

#### Nicaraguan Delegate Suarez

Jacinto Suarez (Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua said: "From this forum, I have the honour to convey the congratulations of militant friendship of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua (F.S.L.N.) to President Ho Chi Minh's people and party to whom the whole mankind is grateful....

"We say that the whole mankind is grateful to Vietnam because imperialism's defeat in Vietnam has paved the way for our new successes....

"The militant friendship between Vietnam and Nicaragua is as vast as the sea. We are proud of your friendship, and Nicaragua will always side with you in any circumstances or any aggressions, whether from U.S. imperialism or Chinese expansionism. Nicaragua will always unite with you because we will never give up solidarity and internationalism. Loyal to this sacred principle, we have recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea. As internationalist fighters, we are opposed to Zionism, apartheid, colonialism and neocolonialism anywhere in the world."

#### Algerian Delegate Nemiche

Djelloul Bakhti Nemiche (Algerian National Liberation Front Party) said: "May I reaffirm our resolute and constant support for the noble revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people in building socialism and defending their socialist motherland....

"We firmly believe that the militant solidarity which has been tested in our common fight against colonialism and imperialism, for independence and freedom, will remain a solid basis for the development of our friendship and cooperation in building our respective countries, for our people's happiness, and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world."

#### Italian Delegate Barca

Luciano Barca (Communist Party of Italy) said: "We are proud of greeting such a people as you, who are endowed with an ancient civilization which, with its struggles and conquests, has enriched the heritage of values and culture of the whole mankind.

"We know well the struggles you have waged for centuries to affirm your national rights and defend your independence. In the period following World War Two, our people, particularly the youth, lived the various stages of your struggle and success as stages of a common struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. In Italy the name of President Ho Chi Minh is as popular as that of the most beloved leaders of the working class. He knew how to creatively apply the teachings of Marx and Lenin to the peculiar conditions of his country and to closely combine the struggle for national independence and with that for socialism....

"Your experience shows that it is possible and even necessary to add genuine patriotism to international solidarity and to draw to the side of combatants not only the countries and parties which stand for socialism, but also democratic and peace forces of very different orientations. This is proved by the very broad solidarity expressed to you in Italy....

"We convey to you our most sincere wishes for your rehabilitation and development along the large path charged by the October Revolution, which we consider to be the greatest historical event of our century, and for your people's patriotic and socialist struggle."

#### West German Delegate Schroeder

Karl Heinz Schroeder (German Communist Party) said: "We are very moved because your party congress has set new, great tasks to continue promoting the cause of peace and raising your people's living and cultural standards. We now better realize the very big problems posed to your country by the consequences of U.S. imperialism's war of aggression....

"We are greatly impressed by the spirit of international solidarity expressed throughout your party congress.... Your country's selfless assistance to the fraternal Kampuchean people threatened with extinction is a shining example of genuine humanitarianism, of genuine international solidarity....

"We have indignantly condemned the Chinese leaders' attacks on socialist Vietnam, as we have condemned their opposition to our people's interests, their collusion with the Reagan administration, and their encouragement and support to the NATO armament policy.

"We thank you for the invaluable contributions of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, of Comrade Ho Chi Minh's party, and of your people, to the maintenance of peace and to the growth of socialism."

#### North Korean Delegate Kil

Kil Il-tae (Workers' Party of Korea) said: "Carrying on President Ho Chi Minh's cause, the communists and other people of Vietnam conducted a prolonged struggle full of sacrifices against imperialism. Through a prolonged, hard struggle against the U.S. aggressors, the Vietnamese people completely liberated and reunified their country. At present the Vietnamese people are engaging in a socialist emulation movement to fulfill this year's national economic plan to welcome the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam with labour achievements and high political enthusiasm. We sincerely wish you and the entire people of Vietnam further success in discharging the tasks to be laid down in the resolutions of the Fifth VCP Congress."

#### Iraqi Delegate Ajina

(Rahim Ajina), (Iraqi Communist Party) said: "We wish to express our joy at your successes in overcoming the war consequences, reunifying the country, improving the material and moral life of the people, solving economic and social problems, and consolidating the material and technical basis of the national economy.

"With our Arab and Kurd national character, our people have always followed with admiration the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle. We admire the Vietnamese people's staunchness in using all their military and economic strength to defeat the French colonialists, and especially, the U.S. imperialists. We take this as a lesson for us.

"During the days of the Dien Bien Phu victory, the liberation of Ho Chi Minh City, and also today, our party and people have always expressed our solidarity

with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in its determined and successful struggle against the war of aggression and expansion waged by the Beijing ruling clique in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and the Pol Pot junta. We support your policy in coordinating the common issues of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos."

PDRY Delegate Hadi

'Ali Shayi Hadi (Yemeni Socialist Party) said: "Having paid the price of independence, sovereignty, freedom, security and stability with the lives of their best sons and daughters and having won in their hard struggle against the U.S. aggressors for national liberation, the Vietnamese people clearly understand the meaning of freedom and peace...."

"The Yemeni Socialist Party and the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen would like to affirm their sympathy with and support for the efforts of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea toward building a peaceful and stable Southeast Asia. The reactionary and imperialist forces must end their aggressive actions and their interference in the internal affairs of countries and nations in the region. We fully support the constructive well-meaning proposals of the Indochinese countries concerning the question of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the convening of a regional conference between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries. We condemn all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and highly value the internationalist position taken by the Communist Party of Vietnam regarding this question.

"From the bottom of our hearts, we would like to congratulate you, comrades, on the occasion of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and we are entirely confident that the resolutions of the congress will constitute a new inspiration to the great Vietnamese people in the continuation of their struggle on all fronts."

Australian Delegate Taft

Bernie Taft (Communist Party of Australia) said: "You've paid a great price for national liberation and national independence. The whole of mankind owes you a big debt which it can never pay in full. Your struggle for national liberation and national independence has deeply impressed the whole world's people.... Dear comrades, the close relations between our two parties was forged in the struggle against the Vietnam war. We have developed and promoted these relations, and we want to enhance them further. We wish you success in the task of restoring your country and in overcoming the difficulties you have encountered and are still encountering."

Indian Delegate Gupta

Prem Sagar Gupta (CPI) [Communist Party of India] said: "The Indian people have always unanimously sided with you in all your struggles. Our people hold the Vietnamese people in great stead and have taken joint actions in support of Vietnam. The hearts of our people are beating in rhythm with yours. Whenever we speak about Vietnam we say 'Mera nam tera nam Vietnam Vietnam'...."

"The Indian-Vietnamese friendship is developing and will continue to develop fruitfully. Our struggles are the same. We are one. Our friendship will shine forever and will guarantee peace, stability, and progress in this region."

Malagasy Delegate Ignace

(Rakotomalala Manan Ignace) (Madagascar Independence Congress Party) said:  
"To visit Vietnam is the wish of the majority of Madagascans because the 30-year struggle of the Vietnamese people for liberation is also the struggle for the liberation of Madagascar, hence our people's understanding of it and their sympathy for it. For this reason I'm pleased that I not only have the privilege and honour to come and see a courageous and noble people who love peace and labour, but also was invited to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a staunch party, which, as I think, will have a good influence on the development of the Third World in the eighties...."

"Although our countries are geographically far apart, the relations and solidarity between Vietnam and Madagascar in the common fight have existed for a long time.... We have come here to reaffirm the friendship and cooperation between the two nations and parties at government, city and trade union levels ....Through this congress of the fraternal Communist Party of Vietnam, we express here our international solidarity for the benefit of social progress and detente, of the elimination of all forms of colonialism, and peace."

Chilean Delegate Insunza

Jorge Insunza (Chilean Communist Party) said:

"The Vietnamese people have shed their blood for their freedom and national reunification and also for the freedom and happiness of mankind as a whole. With staunchness and fortitude, determination and resourcefulness, you have shouldered and simultaneously and satisfactorily accomplished your national tasks and internationalist duties, realizing this truth the Chilean people have given you their profound solidarity...."

"We are confident that you, comrades, will record new and still bigger successes under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a political party which relies on the people, which has Marxism-Leninism for compass, and which always enjoys the effective solidarity of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, the working class, and national liberation movements in the world."

FRELIMO Delegate Matsinha

Mariano Matsinha (Frelimo Party) said:

"By defeating U.S. imperialism, the heroic people of Vietnam, wisely led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, have inflicted a mighty blow on imperialism's global strategy. On the other hand, they have made a decisive contribution to the cause of peace in this region of the world. No aggressor army can resist the great strength of a whole nation. This historical dialectic has been proved by your experience."

"The F.R.E.L.I.M.O. Party highly values the leadership provided by the Communist Party of Vietnam to the Vietnamese people in the case of socialist construction. The achievements you have recorded in implementing your five-year plan are results of the efforts exerted by your people towards eliminating the state of backwardness created by imperialist wars. We are very satisfied that in spite of untold difficulties, you have made significant advances in rebuilding your country. The people of Mozambique regard the revolutionary gains of the Vietnamese people as of their own."

Bangladeshi Delegate Farhad

Mohammed Farhad (Communist Party of Bangladesh) said: "The name of Vietnam has deeply moved the hearts of all revolutionaries because Vietnam, the Communist Party and its leader, Ho Chi Minh, are symbols of heroic struggle, of selfless sacrifices, and of the road to glorious triumph. Vietnam has defeated the mightiest enemy of mankind. Vietnam's example has been a moral inspiration to freedom fighters in our struggle for national independence in 1971.... In a street in the centre of Dacca, a small monument has been erected in memory of two young fighters--two students fallen on Jan. 1, 1973 when the police fired at a demonstration in support of Vietnam, demanding an end to the bombing of Hanoi. Comrades, it is the place where our fraternity was sealed and strengthened with blood. It will remain there forever....

"Let me say frankly on this occasion that nothing can be more bitter to mankind than the Chinese authorities' policy of deception. They have waged an aggressive war against Vietnam! Maoism's insanity has reached its peak! The dangerous Washington-Beijing collusion has done great harm to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and other nations in southern and Southeast Asia."

East German Delegate Naumann

LD291100 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Text] At a rally in Hanoi today, Konrad Naumann, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and head of the delegation attending the Vietnamese Communist Party congress, affirmed the GDR's firm solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their fight to preserve socialism and defend the fatherland. Under the leadership of the communists, the friendly people are tackling the basic tasks of the socialist revolution. Konrad Naumann said that SRV policy, which is directed at achieving peace and stability in Southeast Asia, is an important contribution towards lessening international tensions.

More on Naumann Address

LD292044 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Report by Manfred Pohl from Hanoi]

[Excerpts] The head of the SED delegation to the Fifth VCP congress Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo, conveyed fraternal militant greetings from the SED, its Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, during a rally held at the Hanoi Workers' Club.

Foreign guest delegations taking part in the Fifth Vietnam CP Congress here in Hanoi spoke today in factories and institutes in the Vietnamese capital. Young girls and women with large bouquets of flowers lined the entrance to the workers' club as the SED Central Committee delegation, led by Comrade Naumann, entered.

It is a great honor for us, Konrad Naumann said in his greetings address, to be able to speak to the inhabitants of the capital city of socialist Vietnam at this rally. We have great regard for the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Vietnam Communist Party and its city of Hanoi, whose citizens, in the 1945 August revolution, with their powerful uprising against colonial domination, gave an example to the whole country and who, during the aggression of U.S. imperialism, heroically resisted the bombing terror of the air pirates. Today, the name of the capital is a shining symbol of the indefatigable efforts, selfless work and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese working class and all working people in the construction of socialism and the defense of the socialist homeland.

The SED Central Committee delegation is deeply impressed with the atmosphere, the creative work and the open discussion at the party congress, he said. Despite great difficulties and extremely complicated conditions, the Vietnamese people, inspired and led by the battle-tested communist party, are solving fundamental questions of the socialist revolution which occupies a new strategic position in the further advance along the path of socialism. In people's minds, Vietnam is not only a symbol of the heroic struggle against imperialism and against the hegemonic ambitions of the Beijing leaders, but also a symbol of the resolute efforts of an economically poorly-developed former colonial country to shape its socialist future.

Hungarian Delegate Marothy

OW091021 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 1 Apr 82

[From the Hanoi press review for 1 April]

[Text] Under the boldface headline "Flush With Noble International Feelings," today's NHAN DAN carries the greetings from international delegations attending our party congress.

In his greetings speech, Comrade Laszlo Marothy, head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party delegation, said: Displaying a principled valiant spirit and perseverance in revealing its shortcomings, the VCP has once again demonstrated that it is a worthy, outstanding vanguard of the Vietnamese working class, the leading force of Vietnamese society.

We are confident that with their implementation of the strategic line of economic construction specified in the political report, with their intensive labor, and with their incredible industry, the Vietnamese people will overcome any trials they may face. In the current grave economic situation and, I might add, at a time when the world political situation is fraught with so many serious tensions not encountered before for a long time, the implementation of the guidelines set for the 1981-1985 period is an important task of the Vietnamese communists, who have lived up to their international struggle.



## FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS GREET FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

### Greetings From Various Organizations

BK010615 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0130 GMT 31 Mar 82

[List of greetings messages to the Fifth VCP Congress from communist and other groups, read by announcer before the opening of the closing session of the congress---live]

[Excerpt] During the period of its work, the congress Secretariat has also received letters and messages greeting our congress from communist and workers parties and political and social organizations throughout the world. All of these letters and messages express the warm sentiments of proletarian internationalism of various communist parties and progressive political and social organizations toward the communist party and people of Vietnam. The following are the names of those communist parties and international organizations.

The Belgian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Greece, the Norwegian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the San Marino Communist Party, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Austrian Communist Party, the Spanish Communist Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Turkish Communist Party, the Italian Communist Party, the Netherlands Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the SED, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, the Communist Party of Lesotho, the Egyptian Communist Party, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Sudanese Communist Party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, the Ethiopian People's Labor Party, the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, the Benin People's Revolutionary Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Israeli Communist Party, the Palestinian Communist Party, the Yemen Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Iran, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Pakistan Communist Party, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of Bangladesh, the Japan Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, the Colombian Communist Party, the Paraguayan Communist Party, the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of the United States of America, the Communist Party of Martinique, the Communist Party of Canada, the Bolivian Communist Party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Guatemalan Communist Party, the Ecuadorean Communist Party, the Socialist Party of Australia, the Guyana People's National Congress Party, the Socialist Party of Chile, the Democratic Party

of Guinea, the Arab Ba'th Party of Iraq, the Bangladesh Workers Party, the Popular Socialist Party of Mexico, the Socialist Left Party of Norway, the Palestinian People's Liberation Front, the Palestinian Democratic Liberation Front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, the Polisario Front, the Mexican Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, the Chilean Committee for Solidarity and Resistance Against Fascists, the Chilean Worker-Peasant United Action Movement, the Mexican Workers College, the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the Norwegian organization in support of Vietnam, the Red Proletariat Factory in Moscow, and a number of other communist and workers parties and international organizations.

#### Romanian Party Message

AU0512120 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Mar 82 p 4

[Message from the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee to the Fifth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party, conveyed by Ion Coman, RCP Central Committee secretary and Political Executive Committee member, in Hanoi]

[Text] On behalf of the RCP, its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the communists and all working people in Romania, we extend warm comradely greetings and wishes for success to the delegations to the Fifth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party [VCP], communists and all friendly Vietnamese people.

The RCP and all our people are following with interest and wholeheartedly rejoice at the significant successes achieved by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of their communist party in the socialist transformation of independent and unified Vietnam, in restoring the economy, in developing science, culture and education and in improving the working people's material and cultural living standards.

On this occasion it gives us pleasure to recall the relations of friendship and cooperation established between the RCP and VCP and between our countries and peoples. An eloquent expression of these relations are the militant solidarity and material, political and diplomatic support granted by the Romanian people to the just struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against colonialism and imperialism, for national and social freedom and for the fatherland's reunification.

We express the firm conviction that in the new stage, when the Vietnamese people have embarked upon the road of their unified fatherland's reconstruction, relations between the RCP and VCP and between Romania and Vietnam, forcefully stimulated by the understandings concluded during the meetings in Bucharest and Hanoi between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Le Duan, will continue to develop on political, economic, scientific-technical and other levels to the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, of socioeconomic development in the two countries and of the general cause of socialism, independence, peace and international cooperation.

Dear comrades, currently the Romanian people, closely united around the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are working with devotion and self-denial to implement the great targets set forth by the 12th party congress aimed at further developing the forces of production, at achieving a thorough agrarian revolution, at constantly improving the people's material and cultural living standard, and at Romania's transition to a new development stage--from a developing socialist country to a semideveloped socialist country.

The RCP shows constant concern for increasing the people's socialist awareness and educating them in the spirit of socialist equity and ethics, for constantly improving the management of all fields of activity and of social relations, and for deepening socialist democracy, improving the organizational framework that will ensure and give an impetus to the wide and direct participation of the working people in the process of formulating, discussing and implementing our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy and in the leadership of all society.

Concerning itself with successfully building socialism in Romania, our party and state are promoting, at the same time, a dynamic and constructive international policy designed to contribute to establishing a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation among all world states.

Romania constantly gives priority to developing friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries. It firmly struggles to strengthen their solidarity and to promote a new type of relations among them that will set an example of relations among free and independent nations and will increase the force of attraction and influence of socialism in the world.

At the same time, our country is developing cooperation with the developing countries, with the nonaligned states and also expanding relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all world countries, irrespective of social system.

Our overall foreign policy is constantly based on respect for the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, nonrecourse to the use or threat of force and the assertion of each people's right to develop freely and independently in keeping with its own desire and aspirations.

Comrades, the RCP and socialist Romania believe that the current international situation is particularly tense, and therefore all peoples are faced with a basic task: To safeguard peace, stop the arms race and achieve tangible steps toward disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament. As a European country, Romania constantly acts to establish a climate of peace, security and understanding on our continent, to conclude the Madrid meeting with as positive results as possible, to convene a conference devoted to strengthening trust and achieving disarmament in Europe, and to ensure the continuity of that meeting. In this respect, we believe that everything must be done to stop the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe and to withdraw and completely eliminate the existing ones.

We advocate the elimination of all sources of tension that exist in various parts of the globe, as well as the solution of differences between countries by peaceful and only peaceful means and negotiations by completely excluding the use of threat of force, and by respecting each people's right to build its life as it desires, without any outside interference.

Deeply concerned with the deepening gaps in the countries' economic development, our country believes that it is imperatively necessary to intensify efforts to eliminate under development and achieve a new international economic order.

In the spirit of its rich traditions of revolutionary solidarity, the RCP constantly strengthens cooperation with the communist and workers parties and acts to achieve a new type of unity based on constant respect for each party's right to independently formulate its political line, strategy and revolutionary tactics in keeping with the specific requirements and realities in each country. At the same time, the RCP is developing cooperation with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the democratic and progressive parties in the newly independent states, with the national liberation movements and with the advanced and progressive forces everywhere. We believe that through the united efforts of all those forces it is possible for peace, socialism and progress to triumph on our planet.

In expressing thanks for the invitation to participate in congress proceedings, I wish you, dear comrades, complete success in implementing the decisions you will adopt and in building socialism in your fatherland to the benefit of the Vietnamese people's happiness.

Long live friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the RCP and the VCP, and between our countries and peoples.

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END